

तमसो मा ज्योतिर्गमय

SANTINIKETAN
VISWA BHARATI
LIBRARY

905

A.B.O.R.I.

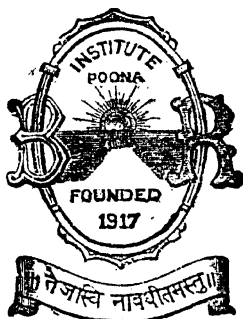
V-27

**Annals of the
Bhandarkar Oriental
Research Institute
Volume XXVII
1946**

EDITED BY

A. B. Gajendragadkar, M.A., M.B.E.

R. N. Dandekar, M.A., Ph.D.



POONA

Printed and published by Dr. R. N. Dandekar, M.A., Ph.D., at the
Bhandarkar Institute Press, Bhandarkar Oriental
Research Institute, Poona No. 4.

INDEX TO AUTHORS

VOLUME XXVII

1946

ARTICLES	PAGES
Rao Bahadur Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, M.A., Ph.D.	
(i) The Interpretation of the Parvasaṃgraha Figures ...	303-309
(ii) Saṃjaya's Eye Divine ...	310-331
S. K. Dikshit, M.A.	
Rao Bahadur Kashinath Narayan Dikshit ...	195-204
P. K. Gode, M.A.	
(i) Studies in the History of Indian Plants— Some Notes on the History of Canaka (Cicer Arietinum) — Between 500 B. C and 1820 ...	56-82
(ii) Carriage-Manufacture in the Vedic Period and in Ancient China in 1121 B. C. ...	288-302
Prof. N. A. Gore, M.A.	
• Śṛṅgarakallola of Rāyaḥaṭṭa ...	345-368
P. R. Chidambara Iyer, B.A.	
Revelations of the First Stanza of the Mahā- bhārata ...	83-101
S. A. Joglekar, M.A., LL.B.	
Sātavāhana and Sātakarni ...	237-287
Mm. Prin. V. V. Mirashi, M.A., LL.B.	
The Kalacuri-Cedi Era ...	1-55
H. G. Narahari, M.A.	
Karma and Reincarnation in the Mahābhārata ...	102-113
Budha Prakash, M.A.	
Last days of the Gupta Empire ...	124-141
K. M. Shembavnekar, M.A.	
The Veda-Vyāsa Myth ...	114-123
K. B. Vyas, M.A.	
The Vikramāditya Problem : A Fresh Approach ...	209-236

MISCELLANEA

Śhrinivas Dixit, M.A.

- (1) An Improvement on Śaṅkara's Interpretation of Br. Sū. II. i. 7 ; (2) Some Argumentative Faults in the Bhagavadgītā ... 142-146

R. N. Gaidhani, M.A.

- Note on Chandavādinsaya ... 148

Helen M. Johnson

- Paṭṭabandha and Kīrti ... 147

REVIEWS

Prof. C. R. Devadhar, M.A.

- (1) Highways and Byways of Literary Criticism in Sanskrit, by Mm. S Kuppuswami Sastri, M.A., I.E.S. ; (2) Rasaratnapradīpikā of Allarāja, Ed. by Dr. R. N. Dandekar, M.A., Ph.D. ; (3) The Mudrārāksasānāṭakakathā of Mahādeva, Ed. by Dr. V. Raghavan, M.A., Ph.D. ; (4) कामशुद्धिः नाम एकाङ्करूपकम्, by Dr. V. Raghavan, M.A., Ph.D. ; (5) Āśvaghoṣa, Vol. I, by Bimala Churn Law, M.A., B.L., Ph.D., D.Litt. ; (6) Kāśhmīrī Lyrics, by J. L. Kaul ; (7) The Ancient Wisdom of Wales, by D. Jeffrey Williams ... 149-155

R. N. Gaidhani, M.A.

- (1) The Vaisṇavopaniṣad, Translated into English, by Shri T. R. Śhrinivasa Ayyangar, B.A., L.T. ; (2) The Nyāyakusumāñjali of Udayanācārya Vol. I, Books I and II, Tr. into English by Swami Ravi Tīrtha ; (3) The Yādavābhyudaya of Śrī Vedāntācārya with the comm. of Appayya Dīkṣita, Cantos, 13-18, Edited by T. T. Śhrinivas Gopala-
char ; (4) The Tantrasamuccaya of Nārāyaṇa with the comm. Vimarśinī of Śaṅkara and Vivaraṇa of Nārāyaṇasīśya, Part I, Pāṭalas I-IV, Edited by V. A. Rāmaswami Śāstri, M.A. ... 167-173

P. K. Gode, M.A.

- (i) (1) The Cultural History of the Hindus, by Chandra Chakravarty ; (2) Parmar Inscriptions (in Dhar State), by C. B. Lele ; (3) Catalogue of the Anup Sanskrit Library, prepared, by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja and K. M. K. Sarma ; (4) Virabhānūdaya-Kāvya of Mādhava, edited (with Text and Translation into English), by Mr. K. K. Lele and Pt. Anant Shāstri Upādhyāya ... 160-165
- (ii) Bhāratiya-Dravyaguna-Granthamālā (in Hindi), by Śrī Ramesh Bedi. ... 332-334

Prof. N. A. Gore, M.A.

- (1) Śatakṛatrayam of Bhartṛhari with *Viorti* of Rāmarsi, Edited by Prof. D. D. Kosambi and Pandit K. V. Krishnamoorthy Sharma ; (2) Gīrvāpa-Kekāvalih, by D. T. Sakurikar, M.A., LL.B. ; (3) B. C. Law Volume, Parts I-II, Edited by Dr. D. K. Bhandarkar and others, ... 181-184

Prin. R. D. Karmarkar, M.A.

- श्रीमद्भगवद्गीताविवेचनात्मकशब्दकोशः (Critical Word-Index to the Bhagavadgītā, by Rao Bahadur P. C. Divanji, M.A., LL.M. ... 187-190

S. T. Pappa, B.A.

- The Heritage of Karnatakā (in Relation to India), by Prof. R. S. Mugali, M.A., B.T. ... 156-158

W. T. Sakurikar, M.A.

- (1) संदेशरासक by कवि अब्दुलरहमान, Ed. by श्रीजिन-विजयमुनि and श्रीहरिवल्लभ भायणी, M.A. ; (2) चन्द्रलेखा A स्तुत by रुद्रदास, Ed. by Dr. A. N. Upadhye, M.A., D.Litt. ; (3) रिष्टसमूहचय of दुर्गदेशाचार्य, Ed. by Dr. A. S. Gopani ... 173-180

T. S. Shejāvākar, B.A.

- (1) " History of Gingee and its Rulers ", by
Rao Bahadur C. S. Shrinivasachari, M.A.; (2)
Sources of the History of the Nawwābs of the
Carnatic Vol. IV ' Sawānihāt-i-Mumtāz ', Trans-
lated by S. Muhammad Husayn Nainar ... 159-160

Dr. P. L. Vaidya, M.A., D.Litt.

- Vedic Bibliography, by Dr. R. N. Dandekar,
M.A., Ph.D. ... 166

Prof. B. D. Verma, M.A.

- (1) Persian Catalogue, pub. the Baroda Records
Deptt.; (2) Rājasthānī Vira-Gīta, part I,
pub. Anūpa Sānskrit Library, Bikāner;
(3) Ta'rīkh Nāme-I-Harāt, by Sayf ibn
Muhammad ibn Ya'qūb al Harawī, edited
by Prof. Md. Zubayr-as-Siddiqī of the
Calcutta University, published by Khān
Bahadur K. M. Asadullāh, ... 185-186

Books-Received 191-194; 335-338

OBITUARY NOTICES

Dr. R. N. Dandekar, M.A., Ph.D.

- (1) Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, M.A.; (2)
Diwan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami
Aiyangar; (3) Dr. Lakshman Sarup; (3)
Professor P. P. S. Sastri. ... 205-207

Editor

- (1) Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. ... 207
(2) Professor Dharmananda Kosambi. .. 341-343
(3) Dr. Hirananda Sastri, (4) Panditaraja
Prof. K. Rama Pisharoti, (5) Professor H. H.
Dodwell. ... 344

Prof. B. D. Verma, M.A.

- Principal Dr. Muhammed Bazlur Rehman,
M.A., Ph.D. ... 339-340

CONTENTS

VOLUME XXVII

1946

ARTICLES

PAGES

- The Kaṣācuri-Cedi Era by Mm. Priṇ. V. V. Mirasāhi, M.A., LL.B. 1-55
- Studies in the History of Indian Plants—Some Notes on the History of Capakā (Cicer Arietinum)—Between 500 B. C. and 1820 by P. K. Gode, M.A. 56-82
- Revelations of the First Stanza of the Mahābhārata by P. R. Chidambara Iyer, B.A. 83-101
- Karma and Reincarnation in the Mahābhārata by H. G. Narahari, M.A. 102-113
- The Veda-Vyāsa Myth by K. M. Shembaynekar, M.A. 114-13
- Last Days of the Gupta Empire by Budha Prakash, M.A. 124-141

MISCELLANEA

- (1) An Improvement on Śamkara's Interpretation of Br. Sū. II. i. 7; (2) Some Argumentative Faults in the Bhagavadgītā by Shrinivas Dixit, M.A. 142-146
- Paṭṭabandha and Kirta by Helen M. Johnson... 147
- Note on Chandavadimsaya by R. N. Gaīdhani, M.A. ... 148

REVIEWS

- (1) Highways and Byways of Literary Criticism in Sanskrit, by Mm. S. Kuṇḍaswami Sastri, M.A., I.E.S.; (2) Rāsaratnapradīpikā of Allārāja, Ed. by Dr. R. N. Dandekar, M.A., Ph.D.; (3) The Mudrārāksasanātakakathā of Mahādeva, Ed. by Dr. V. Raghavan, M.A., Ph.D. (4) कामशुद्धि नाम एकारूपकम् by Dr. V. Raghavan, M.A., Ph.D. (5) Aśvaghosa, Vol. I; by Bimālā Churn Law, M.A., B.L., Ph.D., D.Litt. (6) Kāshmiri Lyrics, by J. L. Kaul; (7) The Ancient Wisdom of Wales, by D. Jeffrey Williams, reviewed by Prof. C. R. Devadhar, M.A. 149-155

- The Heritage of Karnataka (in Relation to India),
by Prof. R. S. Mugali, M.A., B.T., reviewed by
S. T. Pappu, B.A. ... 156-158
- (1) " History of Gingee and its Rulers ", by Rao
Bahadur C. S. Shriniwasachari, M.A., (2) Sources
of the History of the Nawwābs of the Carnatic
Vol. IV ' Sawānihāt-i-Mumtāz ', Translated by
S. Muhammad Husayn Nainar, reviewed by
T. S. Shejavalakar, B.A. ... 159-160
- (1) The Cultural History of the Hindus, by Chandra
Chakravarty ; (2) Parmar Inscriptions (in Dhar
State) by C. B. Lele ; (3) Catalogue of the Anup
Sanskrit Library, prepared by Dr. C. Kunhan
Raja and K. M. K. Sarma, (4) Virabhānūdaya-
Kāvya of Mādhava, edited (with Text and
Translation into English) by Mr. K. K. Lele
and Pt. Anant Shāstri Upādhyāya reviewed by
P. K. Gode, M.A. ... 160-165
- Vedic Bibliography, by Dr. R. N. Dandekar, M.A.,
Ph.D., reviewed by Dr. P. L. Vaidya, M.A.,
D.Litt. ... 166
- (1) The Vaiṣṇavopaniṣad, Translated into English
by Shri T. R. Shrinivasa Ayyangar, B.A., L.T. ;
(2) The Nyāyakusumāñjali of Udayanācārya,
Vol. I, Books I and II, Tr. into English by Swami
Ravi Tirtha ; (3) The Yādavābhyudaya of Śrī
Vedāntācārya with the comm. of Appayya
Dikṣita, Cantos, 13-18, Edited by T. T. Shrinivas
Gopalachar ; (4) The Tantrasamuccaya of
Nārāyaṇa with the comm. Vimarsini of Śaṅkara
and Vivaraṇa of Nārāyaṇaśiṣya, Part I, Pāṭalas
I-IV, Edited by V. A. Rāmaswami Shāstri,
M.A., reviewed by R. N. Gaidhani, M.A. ... 167-173
- (1) संदेशरासक by कवि अब्दुलरहमान, Ed. by श्रीजिनविजयह्वनि
and श्रीहरिचन्द्र भायानी, M.A. ; (2) चन्द्रलेखा A सद्गुरु
by रुद्रदास, Ed. by Dr. A. N. Upadhye, M.A.,
D.Litt. ; (3) रिद्धसमुच्चय of दुर्गदेशाचार्य, Ed. by Dr.
A. S. Gopani, reviewed by W. T. Sakurikar,
M.A. ... 173-180

- (1) Śatakatrāyām of Bhartṛhari with *Vīrti* of Rāma-
rsi, Edited by Prof. D. D. Kōsambi and Pandit
K. V. Krishnamoorthy Sharma ; (2) Gīrvāṇa-
Kekāvalih, by D. T. Sakurikar, M.A., LL.B. ;
(3) B. C. Law Volume Parts I-II, Edited by
Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar and others, reviewed by
Prof. N. A. Gore, M.A. ... 181-184
- (1) Persian Catalogue, pub. the Baroda Records
Deptt. : (2) Rājasthānī Vira-Gīta, part I, pub.
Anūpa Sanskrit Library, Bikāner ; (3) Ta'rikh
Nāme-I-Harāt, by Sayf ibn Muhammad ibn
Ya'qūb al Harawī, edited by Prof. Md. Zubayr-
as-Siddiqī of the Calcutta University, published
by Khan Bahadur K. M. Asadullāh, reviewed by
B. D. Verma, M.A. ... 185-186
- श्रीमद्भगवद्गीताविवेचनात्मकशब्दकोशः (Critical Word-Index
to the Bhagavadgītā) by Rao Bahadur P. C.
Divanji, M.A., LL.M., reviewed by Prin. R. D.
Karmarkar, M.A. ... 187-190
- Books-Received ... 191-194
- Rao Bahadur Kashinath Narayan Dikshit, by S. K.
Dikshit, M.A. ... 195-204

OBITUARY NOTICES

- (1) Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, M.A. ; (2) Diwan
Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar ; (3)
Dr. Lakshman Sarup ; (4) Professor P. P. S.
Sastri, by Dr. R. N. Dandekar, M.A., Ph.D. ... 205-207
- Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, by Editor. ... 207

ARTICLES

- The Vikramāditya Problem : A Fresh Approach, by
K. B. Vyas, M.A. ... 209-236
- Sātavāhana and Sātakarṇi by S. A. Joglekar, M.A.,
LL.B. ... 237-287
- Carriage-Manufacture in the Vedic Period and in
Ancient China in 1121 B. C. by P. K. Gode, M.A. 288-302

The Interpretation of the Parvasaṅgraha Figures by Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, M.A., Ph.D.	... 303-309
Samjaya's " Eye Divine " by Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, M.A., Ph.D.	... 310-331

REVIEWS

Bhāratīya-Dravyaguna-Granthamālā (in Hindi) by Śrī Ramesh Bedi, reviewed by P. K. Gode, M.A.	332-334
Books-Received	... 335-338

OBITUARY NOTICES

Principal Dr. Muhammed Bazlur Rehman, M.A., Ph.D., by Prof. B. D. Verma, M.A.	... 339-340
Professor Dharmananda Kosambi, by the Editor	... 341-343
(1) Dr. Hirananda Sastri, (2) Panditaraja Prof. K. Rama Pisharoti, (3) Professor H. H. Dodwell, by the Editor	... 344
Śrīngārakallola of Rāyahhaṭṭa, Edited by Prof. N. A. Gore, M.A.	... 345-368

CONTENTS

VOLUME XXVII, PARTS I-II

(1-2-47)

ARTICLES	PAGES
The Kalacuri-Cedi Era by Mm. Prin. V. V. Mirashi, M.A., LL.B. ...	1-55
Studies in the History of Indian Plants—Some Notes on the History of Canaka (Cicer Arietinum)—Between 500 B. C. and 1820 by P. K. Gode, M.A. ...	56-82
Revelations of the First Stanza of the Mahābhārata by P. R. Chidambara Iyer, B.A. ...	83-101
Karma and Reincarnation in the Mahābhārata by H. G. Narahari, M.A. ...	102-113
The Veda-Vyāsa Myth by K. M. Shembavnekar, M.A.	114-123
Last Days of the Gupta Empire by Budha Prakash, M.A. ...	124-141

MISCELLANEA

(1) An Improvement on Śaṅkara's Interpretation of Br. Sū. II. i. 7; (2) Some Argumentative Faults in the Bhagavadgītā by Shrinivas Dixit, M.A. ...	142-146
Pattabandha and Kirītā by Helen M. Johnson (Chicago, III) ...	147
Note on Chandavādimsaya by R. N. Gaidhani, M.A. ...	148

REVIEWS

(1) Highways and Byways of Literary Criticism in Sanskrit, by Mm. S. Kuppaswami Sastri, M.A., I.E.S.; (2) Rasaratnapradīpikā of Allarāja, Ed. by Dr. R. N. Dandekar, M.A., Ph.D.; (3) The Mudrārākṣasaṇātākakathā of Mahādeva, Ed. by Dr. V. Raghavan, M.A., Ph.D. (4) कामशुद्धिः नाम एकाङ्करूपकम् by Dr. V. Raghavan, M.A., Ph.D. (5) Aśvaghōṣa, Vol. I; by Bimala Churn Law, M.A., B.L., Ph.D., D.Litt. (6) Kashmiri Lyrics, by J. L. Kaul; (7) The Ancient Wisdom of Wales, by D. Jeffrey Williams, reviewed by Prof. C. R. Devadhar, M.A. ...	149-155
---	---------

Contents

The Heritage of Karnataka (in Relation to India), by Prof. R. S. Mugali, M.A., B.T., reviewed by S. T. Pappu, B.A. ...	156-158
(1) " History of Gingee and its Rulers ", by Rao Bahadur C. S. Shriniwasachari, M.A., (2) Sources of the History of the Nawwābs of the Carnatic Vol. IV 'Sawānihāt-i-Mumtāz', Translated by S. Muhammad Husayn Nainar, reviewed by T. S. Shejavalakar, B.A. ...	159-160
(1) The Cultural History of the Hindus, by Chandra Chakravarty ; (2) Parmar Inscriptions (in Dhar State) by C. B. Lele ; (3) Catalogue of the Anup Sanskrit Library, prepared by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja and K. M. K. Sarma, (4) Virabhānūdaya- Kāvya of Mādhava, edited (with Text and Translation into English) by Mr. K. K. Lele and Pt. Anant Shāstri Upādhyāya reviewed by P. K. Gode, M.A. ...	160-165
Vedic Bibliography, by Dr. R. N. Dandekar, M.A., Ph.D., reviewed by Dr. P. L. Vaidya, M.A., D.Litt. ...	166
(1) The Vaisnavopaniṣad, Translated into English by Shri T. R. Shrinivasa Ayyangar, B.A., L.T. ; (2) The Nyāyakusumāñjali of Udayanācārya, Vol. I, Books I and II, Tr. into English by Swami Ravi Tirtha ; (3) The Yādavābhyudaya of Śrī Vedāntācārya with the comm. of Appayya Dīkṣita, Cantos, 13-18, Edited by T. T. Shrinivas Gopalachar ; (4) The Tantrasamuccaya of Nārāyaṇa with the comm. Vimarsini of Saṁkara and Vivaraṇa of Nārāyaṇaśiṣya, Part I, Patalas I-IV, Edited by V. A. Rāmaswami Shāstri, M.A., reviewed by R. N. Gaidhani, M.A. ...	167-173
(1) संदेशरासक by कवि अब्दुलरहमान, Ed. by श्रीजिनविजयमुनि and श्रीहरिवल्लभ भायानी, M.A. ; (2) चन्द्रलेखा A सट्टक by रुद्रदास, Ed. by Dr. A. N. Upadhye, M.A., D.Litt. ; (3) रिष्टसमुच्चय of दुर्गदेवाचार्य, Ed. by Dr. A. S. Gopani, reviewed by W. T. Sakurikar, M.A. ...	173-180

(1) Śatakatrāyaṃ of Bhartṛhari with <i>Vivṛti</i> of Rāma- rsi, Edited by Prof. D. D. Kosambi and Pandit K. V. Kṛṣṇamoorthy Sharma; (2) Gīrvāṇa- Kekavalīh, by D. T. Sakurikar, M.A., LL.B.; (3) B. C. Law Volume Parts I-II, Edited by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar and others, reviewed by Prof. N. A. Gore, M.A. ...	181-184
(1) Persian Catalogue, pub. the Baroda Records Deptt.; (2) Rājasthānī Vira-Gīta, part I, pub. Añūpa Sanskrit Library, Bikaner; (3) Ta'rikh Nāme-I-Harāt, by Sayf ibn Muhammad ibn Ya'qūb al Harawī, edited by Prof. Md. Zubayr- aṣ-Siddīqī of the Calcutta University, published by Khān Bahadur K. M. Asadullāh, Librarian of the Imperial Library, Calcutta, reviewed by B. D. Verma, M.A. ...	185-186
श्रीमद्भगवद्गीताविवेचनात्मकशब्दकोशः (Critical Word-Index to the Bhagavadgītā) by Rao Bahadur P. C. Divanji, M.A., LL.M., reviewed by Prin. R. D. Karmarkar, M.A. ...	187-190
Books-Received ...	191-194
Rao Bahadur Kashinath Narayan Dikshit, by K. S. Dikshit, M.A. ...	195-204
OBITUARY NOTICES	
(1) Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, M.A.; (2) Diwan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar; (3) Dr. Lakshman Sarup; (4) Professor P. P. S. Sastri, by Dr. R. N. Dandekar, M.A., Ph.D. ...	205-207
Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, by Editor. ...	207

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute

VOL. XXVII]

JANUARY-APRIL 1946

[PARTS I-II

THE KALACURI-CEDI ERA

BY

V. V. MIRASHI

Although some of the inscriptions dated in the Kalacuri-Cedi era were discovered in the early decades of the nineteenth century, it was not suspected till about half a century later that their dates must be referred to an era different from the Vikrama and Śaka eras which were then current in different parts of India or the Gupta era which had become known from inscriptions. For instance the date of the Benares plates of Karna discovered in 1801, which was evidently misread by Captain Wilford was taken by him to correspond to A. D. 192¹. The date 'Samvat 932' of the Kumbhi plates published in 1839² was referred by the editors of the grant to the Vikrama Samvat and taken to be equivalent to A. D. 876.³ The Kanheri plate was discovered by Dr. Bird in 1839, but the earliest attempt to date it approximately was that of Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji who on considerations of palaeography referred the inscription to about the sixth cen. A. D.⁴ But he then made no conjecture about the era to which

¹ *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. IX p. 108. On this, General Cunningham remarks as follows' "I suspect that the date was read by Wilford as 193 and that he afterwards forgot that he had obtained it from the plates, as he states "the grant is dated in the second year of his own era, and also of his reign, answering to the Christian year 192." (*A. S. R.*, Vol. IX, p. 82).

² *J. A. S. B.* Vol. VIII, pp. 481 f.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 482.

⁴ *Inscriptions from the Cave-Temples of Western India* by J. Burgess and Bhagvanlal Indraji. (*A. S. W. I.*, No. 10, p. 59).

its date 245 should be referred beyond stating that it could not be the same as that employed by the Ksatrapas as the characters on their coins are of a much earlier type and that it could not be the Gupta era in the absence of such expressions as *Gupta-kāla*, *Guptasya kāla*, *Gupta-nrpa-rājya-bhukti* or *Samv.* Dr. Burgess, however, in a note on Bhagvanlal's article observed as follows: 'From the form of characters, I incline to think that this inscription may be dated in the Gupta era; the Traikūṭakas, like the Valabhi Senāpatis, may have continued to use the Gupta era on assuming independence; or it may have been adopted from Gujerat'.¹ The first and approximately correct conjecture about the epoch of the era was made in 1859 by Prof. Fitz-Edward Hall in his article on the Bherā-Ghāt inscription of Alhapadevi dated Samvat 907 and the Tewar inscription of the time of Jayasimhadeva dated Samvat 928.² Finding that Alhapadevi was mentioned in the former inscription as the grand-daughter of Udayāditya, Dr. Hall conjectured that she might have been born about A. D. 1100, as her grandfather Udayāditya, who reigned between Bhoja (circa A. D. 1050) and Naravarman (A. D. 1104), might have flourished about A. D. 1075. Now, Alhapadevi's sons Narasimha and Jayasimha were reigning in the years 907 and 928 respectively and her great-grandson Ajayasimha was a minor in the year 932 of an unspecified era. Dr. Hall, therefore, thought that her birth might have taken place about the year 850 of the era to which the aforementioned dates refer. He thus suggested that the unspecified era used in the Kalacuri records might have commenced about A. D. 250. He had no doubt that the numbers did not refer either to the era of Śālivāhana or to that of Vikramāditya. But he left it an open question whether the era was that of Valabhi with some epoch other than A. D. 319 or some other era till then unknown.

In 1878, Cunningham announced in the introduction (p. vi) to his *A. S. R.*, Vol. VII that he had found among the inscriptions collected by his assistant Beglar in the eastern part of the

¹ *Ibid.* p. 59, n. 2.

² *J. A. O. S.*, Vol. VI (1860), p. 501. The article was presented to the Society on October 26, 1859.

Central Provinces in 1873-4,¹ two, which were actually dated in the *Cedi Samvatsara* and two others in the *Kalacuri Samvat*.² He identified the two eras as 'the princes of Cedi were of the Kalacuri branch of the Haihaya tribe.' He further stated that he had examined some eight verifiable dates of the era and had found by calculation that the era began in A. D. 249, the year 250 A. D. being the year 1 of the Cedi Samvat.

In his *A. S. R.*, Vol. IX (of a tour in the Central Provinces in 1873-4 and 1874-5) pp. 111 f., Cunningham reiterated his conclusion that A. D. 249 was the initial point of the Cedi or Kalacuri Samvat, the year 250 being the year 1 of the era, 'the Hindu reckoning being invariably recorded in complete or expired years in the same way as a person's age is reckoned.' He then gave details of the aforementioned eight dates together with the corresponding week days obtained by calculation in the following form:-

Cedi Samvat	A. D.	Month and day	Calculated weekday
793	1042	Phālguna badi 9, Monday	Sunday
896	1145	Māgha sudi 8, Wednesday	*Wednesday
898	1147	Āśvina sudi 7, Monday	Saturday
902	1151	Āṣāḍha sudi 1, Sunday	*Sunday
907	1156	Mārgaśīras sudi 11, Sunday	*Sunday
909	1158	Śrāvaṇa sudi 5, Wednesday	Thursday
928	1177	Śrāvaṇa sudi 6, Sunday	Monday
928	1177	Māgha badi 10, Monday	*Monday

Cunningham's calculations did not yield quite satisfactory results as only in four out of the above eight cases,³ the dates were found to be regular. In three other cases, the dates agreed within one day - an amount of deviation which, he thought, was not uncommon in Hindu dates. Cunningham's calculations are not, however, found to be correct in all cases.⁴ Even with his

¹ See Nos. 57 and 65 of the Appendix at the end of this article. The numbers of inscriptions cited in the present article refer to that Appendix

² See Nos. 44 and 45.

³ They are starred in the table given above.

⁴ In justice to Cunningham it must be stated that on p. 86 of the same volume (IX) he says, 'By calculation also I find that in the year 1041 (? 1042) or 793 of the Cedi Samvat according to this reckoning, the 9th day of Phālguna badi was a Monday'.

epoch the first date regularly corresponds to Monday, the 18th January, A. D. 1042, and the sixth for intercalary Śrāvaṇa¹ to Wednesday the 2nd July, 1158. Secondly, in order to get the corresponding year of the Christian era, he added 249 to the Cedi date in all cases, whether the latter fell in Āśāḍha or in Phālguna, as if the Cedi year completely coincided with the Christian year. Thirdly, he took all dates without exception to be in expired years. As regards the general correctness of Cunningham's epoch, however, there was no doubt, for the dates he assigned to Kalacuri kings on its basis were generally corroborated by the synchronisms known from the inscriptions of the Kalacuri, Rāṣṭrakūṭa, Cālukya, Paramāra and Pratihāra dynasties.² In the Introduction (pp. vii-viii) to the same volume, Cunningham adduced further evidence to support his conclusion about the epoch of the era. He pointed out that Abu Rihan³ writing about A. D. 1030-1031 referred to Gāṅgeya as a contemporary king of Dāhala and that from his *Vikramāṅkacarita* Bilhana seems to have resided at the court of Rājā Karṇa of Dāhala from A. D. 1070 to A. D. 1075. These dates, he showed, agreed with the approximate periods which he had assigned to the Kalacuri kings by the genealogical reckoning of his chronology.

In the mean-while some inscriptions of the Gurjara dynasty had been discovered in Western India. The dates Samvat 380 and 385 of two of them viz. the two sets of Kairā plates of Dadda II⁴ were at first referred to the Vikrama era; but after the discovery of a third grant viz. the Ilao plates of Dadda-Prasāntarāga,⁵ which was explicitly dated in the year 417 of the Śaka era, the

¹ Cunningham seems to have taken the month to be *nija-Śrāvaṇa*, for the 5th *tithi* of bright fortnight of *nija Śrāvaṇa* commenced 5 h. 20 m. on Thursday. For verifying dates I have used throughout, S. K. Pillay's *Indian Ephemeris*.

² Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. IX pp. 84-7; 100-111.

³ He is more widely known by his name Alberuni.

⁴ Nos. 13 and 14. These were discovered about A. D. 1827. They were first published by J. Prinsep in *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. VII, pp. 908 ff. and subsequently by Dowson in *J.R.A.S.*, N. S., Vol. I, pp. 247 ff. and by Fleet in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII, pp. 81 ff.

⁵ Ed. by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, *J. Bom. Br. R. A. S.*, Vol. X pp. 19 ff. and with facsimile by Fleet in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 116 ff. These and similar plates of Dadda Prasāntarāga dated in the Śaka era, are now proved to be spurious.

dates of the aforementioned two Kaira grants and also the date 486 of the odd Kāvi plate¹ of Jayabhata subsequently discovered, in all of which the era was unspecified, were referred to the Śaka era.

In 1884, Dr. Bhagvanlal published the Nausāri grant of Jayabhata (III)² dated Monday or Tuesday, the full-moon day of Māgha, Saṁvat 456 on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon. This grant mentions in connection with Dadda, the great-grandfather of the donor Jayabhata, that he protected a prince of Valabhi against the Emperor (*Paramēśvara*) Śrī-Harṣadeva. Dr. Bhagvanlal naturally identified the latter with Harṣavardhana, the well-known king of Thāpesvar and Kanauj, who ruled from A. D. 606 to A. D. 648. As Dadda, the first prince mentioned in the Nausāri grant, was thus proved to have flourished in the first half of the seventh century A. D., it was clear that the date 456 of the Nausāri grant of that Dadda's great-grandson Jayabhata could not be referred to the Śaka era. Dr. Bhagvanlal had again obtained four other grants of the Cālukya dynasty discovered in Gujerat, two of which made by Śrīyāśraya Śīlāditya were found to be dated in Saṁvat 421 and 443,³ the third made by Maṅgalarāja in (Śaka) 653 and the fourth by Pulakeśi-vallabha Avanijanāśraya in Saṁvat 490.⁴ From the genealogical portions of these grants it was clear that all these princes were sons of Jayasimhavarman, who was himself a son of Pulakeśin II, the famous king of the Early Cālukya Dynasty. From these data Dr. Bhagvanlal concluded that the dates 456 and 486 of the Gurjara grants and 421, 443 and 490 of the Cālukya grants referred to an era different from the Śaka era, which was used in Gujerat in the seventh and eighth centuries A. D. He conjecturally fixed A. D. 244-5 as the initial year and A. D. 245-6 as the year 1^o of that era and identified it with the era of the Traikūṭakas, of which the two hundred and forty-fifth year is mentioned in Dr. Bird's Kānheri plate.⁵

The nearness of the epoch A. D. 244-245 suggested by Dr. Bhagvanlal to the epoch of the Cedi era (A. D. 249) led

¹ No. 26. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 109 ff.

² No. 23. *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII pp. 70 ff.

³ See Nos. 20 and 22.

⁴ See No. 28.

⁵ See No. 8. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 76.

General Cunningham to suspect that the two eras might be identical. Calculating on this supposition, he found that the date of the Nausāri grant 'Monday or Tuesday, the 15th day of the bright fortnight of Māgha of Samvat 456, on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon' corresponded to the 2nd February A. D. 706 which was a Tuesday and on which occurred an eclipse of the moon. He also found that the date of the Kāvī plate 'Sunday, the 10th day of the bright fortnight of the month Āśāḍha of Samvat 486' regularly corresponded to Sunday, the 24th June A. D. 736.¹ In both these cases the corresponding Christian year was obtained by adding 250 to the (Cedi) year showing clearly that the epoch of the Cedi era was not A.D. 249, but A.D. 249-250.

In 1884, in his article on the Pārḍi plates of Dahrasena published in the *J. Bom. Br. R. A. S.* (Vol. XVI, p. 347) Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraji accepted the view that the era used by the Gurjaras and the Cālukyas of Gujerat commenced in A. D. 249, but pointed out that it was distinctly called the era of the Traikūṭakas in Dr. Bird's Kānheri plate. He referred the date 207 of the Pārḍi plates of the Traikūṭaka king Dahrasena to the same era and observed that the grant afforded indisputable corroboration of the existence of the Traikūṭaka dynasty which he had deduced from Dr. Bird's plate.

In the same year Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar published his *Early History of the Deccan* (first ed.) in which he questioned the correctness of Dr. Bhagvanlal's view that the date 421 of Śryāśraya Śīlāditya's grant is in an era with 250 A. D. as its initial date on the ground that 'the interval between the two brothers Maṅgalarāja and Śryāśraya becomes 60 years which unquestionably is too long.²' He further suggested that the date was in the Gupta era which was one of those in ordinary use in Gujerat.

In 1886, Dr. Bhagvanlal contributed a paper entitled 'Two New Grants of the Cālukya Dynasty' to the International Oriental Congress, Vienna, in which he pointed out that Dr. Bhandarkar's view that the grants of the Gujerat Cālukyas are dated in the

¹ See Fleet's note on Pandit Bhagvanlal's article on the Nausāri plates of Jayabhata III. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol XIII, pp. 76-7.

² *Early History of the Deccan* (first ed.), p. 102.

Gupta era would lead to the conclusion that Śryāśraya reigned as Yuvarāja from 10 to 32 years later than his younger brother Maṅgalarāja who was a king, which was clearly impossible. He further made some ingenious suggestions about the circumstances which led to the foundation of the era. The founder of the era, according to him, was the king Īśvaradatta who interrupted the rule of the Western Kṣatrapas and whose coins dated in the first and second years of his reign show that he assumed the titles *Rājā* and *Kṣātrapa*. 'Other kings', he proceeded to state, 'bearing names, which end in *datta*, have left their records in the caves of Nāsik and state that they are Ābhīras by caste. This circumstance permits us to infer that they belong to the Ābhīra dynasty, which, probably coming by sea from Sindh conquered the western coast and made Trikūṭa its capital. Īśvaradatta whom I consider to belong to it, probably attacked and obtained a victory over the Kṣatrapas. After he had consolidated his power he issued his own coins, copying the Kṣatrapa currency of the district. His coins particularly resemble those of the Kṣatrapa Viradāman and his brother Vijayasena. The end of the reign of the latter falls, as the coins show, in the year 170 of the Kṣatrapa era. If we take this to be the Śaka era, the time of Īśvaradatta's conquest will fall just about the same time as the foundation of the Traikūṭaka or Kalacuri era. This agreement induces me to consider Īśvaradatta as its founder. It seems further that the reign of the Traikūṭakas did not last long as Viradāman's son Rudrasena appears to have regained power and to have driven his foe out of the country. The Traikūṭakas then probably retired to the Central Provinces and there assumed the name Haihaya and Kulacuri. Afterwards the kings of this dynasty appear to have taken possession of their former capital Trikūṭa at the time of the final destruction of the Kṣatrapa power. Dahrasena must have ascended the throne just about this time which was the year $207 + 170$ or 377 of the Śaka era.'¹

Till 1887, scholars were engaged in pointing out in a general way the epoch of the Cedi or Traikūṭaka era. A definite suggestion about the month and the *tithi* of its actual commencement

was first made by Prof. Kielhorn¹ who in his letters published in the *Academy* of December 10 and 24, 1887 and January 14, 1888² announced that his calculations of numerous weekdays of later Cedi inscriptions showed that the Cedi era began not in 249, but in 248 A. D. Later on, in an article published on the *Nachrichten der Ges. Wissenschaften Göttingen*, (1888), pp. 31-41 and another in *Indian Antiquary* (Vol. XVII, pp. 215 ff) of August 1888, Dr. Kielhorn showed from an examination of 12 dates of the Kalacuris and their feudatories and two of the Gurjaras, that 'the only equation which yields correct weekdays for those Cedi inscriptions in which the week-day is mentioned is Cedi Samvat O = A. D. 248-249 and Cedi Samvat 1 = A. D. 249-250, and that if we wish to work out the dates by a uniform process we must take the Cedi year to commence with the month Bhādrapada and must accordingly start from July 28, A. D. 249 = Bhādrapada śu. di. 1 of the northern Vikrama year 307 current as the first day of the first current year of the Cedi era'. In a note Kielhorn remarked that a year beginning with the month Āśvina would suit the dates examined by him as well as one beginning with Bhādrapada and (if the dates are to be worked out by a uniform process) the former would appear to be more suitable than the latter. He preferred however the *Bhādrapadādi* year because 'Alberuni does mention a year beginning with Bhādrapada.'³ As regards the arrangement of the fortnights, Kielhorn showed from three dates that it was the *pūrṇimānta* one in which the dark half of a month precedes the light half.

Kielhorn's calculations made on the basis of the epoch of A. D. 248-49 showed that of the fourteen dates examined by him in none of which the year is specified either as current or as expired, eleven were found recorded in current years, two in expired years and one in a year which may be taken as current if the Cedi year was *Āśvinādi* and expired if it was *Bhādrapadādi*.

¹ Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit had earlier come to the conclusion that nearly all of the ten Kalacuri or Cedi dates would work out correctly with the epoch of A. D. 248-249, but his results were not published for the reasons stated by Dr. Fleet in the *Introd. to C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 9, (published in 1888).

² See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 187, n. 24.

Ibid., Vol. XVII, p. 215 n. 5.

This proportion of the current and expired years of the Cedi era was, however, the reverse of what Kielhorn himself found in the case of other eras such as the Vikrama, Śaka and Newar eras. It was pointed out by Dr. Bhandarkar¹ and others in connection with the question of the epoch of the Gupta-Valabhi era that the Hindu's usual, though not invariable, way of expressing a date was not in the year so and so, but after so many years had elapsed since such and such an event had taken place. The case of the Cedi era, which seemed to be an exception to the general rule, was cited by Dr. Fleet² in support of his views that the years of the Gupta era which are not qualified either as current or expired should be taken as current. This controversy about the general custom of the Hindus in dating their records during the middle ages led Kielhorn to revise his conclusions about the epoch of the Cedi era. In his article 'Die Epoch der Cedi Aera' in the *Festgruss an Roth* and in another on the Bherā-Ghāt inscription of Alhamadevi in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, both of which were published in 1893,³ Kielhorn expressed his opinion that in conformity with the common usage observed in the case of other eras the epoch of the Cedi era should be fixed in such a way that all or at least a great majority of the available verifiable dates would be in expired years. He, therefore, proposed A. D. 247-48 as the epoch of the era. As regards the beginning of the year, he drew attention to the following remarks in Colebrooke's letter written at Nagpur on the 30th October, 1799— 'The New year begins here with the light fortnight of Āśvina, but opening in the midst of Durgā's festival, New Year's day is only celebrated on the 10th lunar day.' Kielhorn thought that the *Āśvinādi* year which was current down to Colebrooke's time in a part of the country previously included in the Cedi kingdom might be reminiscent of the Cedi year and as such

¹ See his article 'The Epoch of the Gupta Era' (1886) pub. in the *J. Bom. Br. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVII, part II (1887-1889).

² See his article 'The Gupta-Valabhi Era' in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX (1891), p. 387.

³ Kielhorn first stated his view in an article published in the *Transactions of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists*, Vol. I. (1893), p. 428. The Congress was held in London from the 5th to the 12th September 1892.

a year suited all the twelve Cedi dates known till then, he fixed the 5th September (Āśvina śu.di. 1) A.D. 248 as the first day of the first current year and the 26th August (Āśvina śu.di. 1) A.D. 249 as the first day of the first expired year of the Cedi era. He next showed that all the twelve verifiable dates of the Later Kalacuris which were known till then were, without exception, in expired years.¹ The two early dates of the Nausāri and Kāvī plates of Jayabhata III, however, presented difficulties which Kielhorn acknowledged in the foot-notes to his *List of Northern Inscriptions* published in 1898-99 as an appendix to the *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V.²

Three more Cedi dates containing sufficient data for verification were discovered and calculated by Kielhorn before his death - viz. (1) the Sarnāth fragmentary Buddhist Stone inscription of the time of Karna dated *So[śvatsara 8*]10 Āśvina (Āśvina) sudi 15 Ravau* (corresponding, for the expired Kalacuri year 810, to Sunday, the 4th October A. D. 1058)³ (2) Tahan-kāpār (first plate) of Pamparāja dated *Saṃvata(t) 965, Bhādra-padā-vaḥ 1 [o] Mrga-ri(ṛ)kṣe So[ma]-dine* (corresponding, for the current year 945, to Monday, the 12th August A. D. 1213)⁴ and (3) Tahan-kāpār (second plate) of Pamparāja dated *Saṃvat 966 ... Īśva(śva)ra-saṃvatsarē Kārti(tti)ka-māse Citrā-ri(ṛ)kṣe Ravi-idine Sūry-oparāge* (corresponding, for the expired Cedi year 966, to Sunday the 5th October A. D. 1214).⁵ Besides, he found it necessary to change his reading and the corresponding Christian date in the case of one of the previously known twelve Cedi dates viz. (4) that of the Sheorinārāyaṇa image inscription which he now read as *Kalacuri-saṃvatsara 898 Āśvina-sudi 7 Soma-dine* from a photograph supplied by Dr. (then Mr.) D. R. Bhandarkar and found by calculation to correspond, for the current Cedi year 898, to Monday, the 24 September A. D. 1145.⁶

Kielhorn's final view that the epoch of the Cedi era is A. D. 247-248 was confirmed by these new dates; for while two of them (viz., 1 and 3) might have been taken as current years with the epoch of A. D. 248-49, the other two (viz. 2 and 4) would have

¹ *Festgruss an Roth*, pp. 53-56. ² See p. 57, n. 6 and 7.

³ *A. S. I. An. Rep.* 1906-1907, p. 100. ⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 129.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 129. ⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 130.

appeared irregular according to that epoch. The latter dates again showed that 'Kalacuri years, occasionally, and exceptionally, are quoted as current years'.

Since 1893, scholars have generally accepted Kielhorn's conclusion that the Cedi era commenced on Āśvina su.dī. 1 (corresponding to the 5th September) in A. D. 248. Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit alone, differing from Kielhorn, has suggested that the Cedi year might have commenced on the first *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Āśvina.¹

Pandit Bhagvanlal's theory—that the Cedi era owed its origin to the dynasty of the Traikūṭakas and was actually founded by a king Īśvaradatta whom the Pandit¹ considered to be an Ābhīra and who, as shown by his coins, reigned sometime about A. D. 248-249 in Kāthiāwād—held the field for a long time. But in 1905 in his article 'Trikūṭa and the so-called Kalacuri or Cedi era,'² Dr. Fleet pointed out that all the early dates of the era came from Gujerat and Thāṇā district in Bombay and none from Kathiawad and that there was nothing to stamp the era as the Traikūṭaka era for the expression in Dr. Bird's Kānheri plate on which Pandit Bhagvanlal relied might, in accordance with the early Hindu method of expressing dates, just as well mean 'during the augmenting sovereignty of the Traikūṭakas and in the year 245 of (an unspecified era)'. Dr. Fleet proposed to identify the founder of the era with the Ābhīra Īśvarasena (not to be confused with, or identified with, the Īśvaradatta mentioned above) or with his father the Ābhīra Śivadatta if he did reign.

In 1908, in his *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhras, Western Kṣatrapas, Traikūṭakas* etc., Prof. Rapson considered the question of the Traikūṭaka era in connection with the coins of the Western Kṣatrapas and the Traikūṭakas. He pointed out that the dates assigned by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indrajī to the coins of Īśvaradatta rested on a mistaken observation, that the dates from 171 to 176 were quite continuous on the coins of the Western Kṣatrapas and that the evidence of coins and coin-legends showed

¹ See his *History of Indian Astronomy* (in Marathi) (first published in 1896), Second edition, p. 375.

² *J. R. A. S.* (1905), pp. 566 ff.

that the only interval to which the coins of Īśvaradatta could be assigned was that between 158, the last recorded date of *Mahākṣatrapa* Dāmasena, and 161, the year in which his son Yaśodāman I appears as *Mahākṣatrapa*, i. e., between A. D. 236 and 239.¹ He further drew attention to the fact that the Abhīra Śivadatta bears no royal title in the Nāsik inscription of his son Īśvarasena which seems to indicate that he himself was the founder of the dynasty and presumably preceded Īśvaradatta. He thus placed both Īśvarasena and Īśvaradatta before A. D. 249. As regards the circumstances which led to the foundation of the era he observed, 'It is of course quite possible that the establishment of the era may mark the consolidation of the Abhīra kingdom during the reign of one of their successors. There can be no doubt that the political conditions which admitted of the growth of a strong power in this part of India were due to the decline and fall of the Āndhra Empire; but the foundation of an era must be held to denote the successful establishment of the new power, rather than its first beginnings or the downfall of the Āndhras.'²

In 1911 a large hoard of Kṣatrapa coins was discovered at Sarvāṇī in the Bānswārā State of Rajputana. In the detailed report on it published in the *An. Rep. A. S. I.* for 1913-14, pp. 227 ff., Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar examined Prof. Rapson's view that Īśvaradatta flourished in the gap between the years 158 and 161. He pointed out that the Sarvāṇī hoard contained a coin of Yaśodāman dated in the year 160. This date lessens the gap between Yaśodāman and his predecessor by one year. 'It is still not impossible', wrote Dr. Bhandarkar, 'to adjust the two years of Īśvaradatta's reign even in this lessened gap, viz., between 158 and 160, but just as the gap between 171 and 176, which was imagined by Bhagvanlal, no longer exists, a day will, no doubt, come when with the further find of coins the gap between 158 and 160 now existing will also be completely filled.'³ Dr. Bhandarkar placed the rise of Īśvaradatta in the period 110-112 (A. D. 188-190) when the *Mahākṣatrapa* Rudrasīmha

¹ Rapson, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty* etc., pp. cxxxv-vi.

² *Ibid.*, p. clxii.

³ *An. Rep. A. S. I.* for 1913-14, p. 229.

suffered a diminution of power and was reduced to the rank of Kṣatrapa. He pointed out that the Ābhīras had acquired great predominance about this time; for the Nāsik inscription of the Ābhīra Īśvarasena can, on the evidence of palaeography, be referred to about the year 100 and the Gunda inscription¹ shows that in the year 103 and during the regime as Kṣatrapa of Rudrasīmha himself the post of *Senāpati* or Commander-in-chief had been held by an Ābhīra called Rudrabhūti.

In 1920, in an article entitled 'the Kuṣāṇ Chronology' published in the *Journal of the Department of Letters*, (Calcutta University), Vol. I, pp. 65 ff., Dr. R. C. Majumdar, after detailed examination of the evidence afforded by the Chinese works *Heou Han Chou* of Fan Ye and *Wei-liao* of Yu Honan, came to the conclusion that the dates ranging from 72 to 136 found in the inscriptions of the Northern Satraps, Gondophares, Kujula Kadphises and Wema Kadphises must be referred to the Śaka era beginning in A. D. 78. Kaniska who flourished after Wema Kadphises must, therefore, be placed after A. D. 214. Following the principle that 'we should, whenever practicable, avoid the assumption of a brand-new era for the existence of which there is no evidence at all', Dr. Maṣumdar put forward the view that Kaniska founded the so-called Kalacuri era of A. D. 248-49. He referred to Prof. Rapson's conclusion based on a critical examination of Kṣatrapa coinage that from the year 167 or 168 (A. D. 245-46) the Western Kṣatrapas had to face troublous times and that their dominions were probably subject to some foreign invasion. Dr. Majumdar attributed this to the establishment, by the Kuṣāṇ Emperor, of a rival dynasty in the South to hold in check the power of the Western Kṣatrapas, and suggested that this ultimately became instrumental in preserving the era of the Kuṣāṇs long after it had become extinct in the province of its origin.'

The main objection to Dr. Majumdar's theory is that there is no evidence of the establishment, by the Kuṣāṇs, of such a rival dynasty in the South, which curtailed the power of the Western Kṣatrapas. Again, Prof. Jouveau Dubreuil has pointed that

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 157. See also *J. R. A. S.* 1840, p. 650.

'the reign of Vāsudeva, the last of the Kuṣāṇs came to an end 100 years after the beginning of the reign of Kaniska. Numerous inscriptions prove that Vāsudeva reigned at Mathurā. It is certain that this country over which extended the empire of Vāsudeva was occupied about A. D. 350 by the Yaudheyas and the Nāgas and it is probable that they reigned in this place nearly one century before they were subjugated by Samudragupta. The capitals of the Nāgas were Mathurā, Kāntipuri and Pādmāvati (or Pawāyā at the confluence of the Sindhu and the Pārā)'¹ The finds of Nāga coins as well as scattered references in Sanskrit literature indicate that the Nāgas and not the Kuṣāṇs were powerful in Central India before the rise of the Guptas.²

In 1928, in his article entitled the 'Kalacuris of Tripuri', published in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. IX, pp. 281 ff., Rai Bahadur Hiralal tried to revive Pandit Bhagwanlal's theory that the era owed its origin to the dynasty of the Traikūṭakas by identifying the Traikūṭakas with the Kalacuris. He suggested that Trikāṭa from which the dynasty derived its name was the Vindhya mountain which was so called because of its three peaks—Āmrakūṭa or Amarakantak, the Śālākūṭa or Śāletekri in the Bālāghaṭ district and the Madhukūṭa or Mohtur in the Chhindwārā district. But the fact that all the early dates of the era are found in Western India—in Southern Gujerat and Western Mahārāṣṭra—is fatal to R. B. Hiralal's theory. Besides, there is no evidence to show that the Vindhya mountain was called Trikāṭa in ancient times. On the other hand, Kālidāsa clearly indicates in the *Raghuvamśa* that the mountain is situated in the Aparānta or Northern Koṅkan³ and this is verified by the recent discovery of the Anjaneri plates of Pṛthivīcandra Bhogaśakti of the (Cedi) year 461 in which a Trikāṭaviṣaya is mentioned as situated in the kingdom of Puri-Koṅkana (i. e. Northern Koṅkan).⁴

In 1933, in his *History of India A. D. 150 - A. D. 350* Dr. (then Mr.) K. P. Jayasval attempted to prove that the Cedi era was started by the Vākāṭakas. 'The Purāṇas', observed he,

¹ Jouveau-Dubreuil, *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 31.

² For other objections see Raychoudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, Fourth Ed. p. 391.

³ Canto IV, śl. 59.

Ep. Ind., Vol. XXV, p. 232.

'after the fall of the Sātavāhanas register the rise of Vindhyaśakti as the next great power or as the imperial power succeeding the Sātavāhanas. An era will be naturally counted from the rise of a new power, whether at once or subsequently ... Then the second fact to take note of in this connection is that Pravarāsena I became an Emperor and the previous Emperors the Kuṣāns had in fact an imperial era. To start an era had become a chief symbol of imperial position'.¹ Dr. Jayaswal, therefore, concluded that Pravarasena I of the Vākātaka dynasty, who became Emperor, must have started the era, dating it from the coronation of his father. He read the dates on two coins which he ascribed to Pravarasena I and Rudrasena I as 76 and 100 respectively and referred these dates together with the date 52 of the Gīnjā inscription of Mahārāja Śrī-Bhīmasena to the Cedi era dating from the rise of the Vākātaka power. But Dr. Jayaswal's readings of the legends and figures on these coins are extremely doubtful. Besides his theory that the Cedi era was really founded by the Vākātakas is disproved by the fact that the Vākātakas themselves never used it, but dated all their records in regnal years.²

In 1936, while editing the Kosam Stone inscription of Mahārāja Bhīmavarman dated in the year 130 in the *Indian Culture*, Vol. III, pp. 177 ff. Mr. A. Ghosh drew attention to certain palaeographical peculiarities noticed in the record, such as the round and narrow-headed ś, the unlooped ṣ and s and the undeveloped curves representing medal i, peculiarities which are known to be characteristic of Kuṣān rather than Gupta inscriptions. He, therefore, referred the date 130 of that inscription to the Cedi era. Subsequently, some more inscriptions of Prṣṭhaśriya, Bhādrāmagha, Vaiśravaṇa and Bhīmavarman were found at Kosam and Bandhogarh and some of them were published in the *Epigraphia Indica* and elsewhere.³ These records exhibited the same palaeographic peculiarities which indicated that they belonged to the period of transition between the Kuṣān and the

¹ *History of India A. D. 150 - A. D. 350*, p. 111.

² Mirashi, *Nagpur University Journal*, No. 3, p. 26.

³ See e. g. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 245 ff; Vol. XXIV, pp. 146 ff. and pp. 253 ff. etc. Also *Ganganath Sha Volume*, pp. 101 ff.

Gupta age. The system of dating and the mixed nature of the language used in them were also believed to point to the same conclusion. Their dates also were, therefore, referred by some scholars to the Cedi era. The fact that some of these records came from that part of the country which in ancient times was known as Cedi lent colour to this view. It was, therefore, believed that these records of Magha kings found at Ginjā, Kosam. and Bandhogarh supplied the early dates of the Cedi era which had been missing till then.

This view was criticised by the present writer in an article entitled 'Dates of Some Early Kings of Kauśāmbī' which though written as early as 1941 has not yet been published on account of war conditions.¹ In this article it has been pointed out that if the dates of Magha records are referred to the Cedi era, Bhādrāmāgha, Vaiśravaṇa and Bhīma-varman become contemporaries of the Gupta Emperors Candragupta I, Samudragupta and Candragupta II. If these rulers were ruling at Kauśāmbī, they must have acknowledged the suzerainty of the Guptas. But strange as it might seem, none of them mentions any Gupta overlord. Besides, they issued coins in their own names, indicating their independence.² They must, therefore, have flourished before the rise of the Guptas. The dates of their records have consequently to be referred to the era of Kaṇiṣka. As for the palaeographic peculiarities noticed in these records, it was pointed out that all of them can be traced in several records of the Kuṣāṇ age.

Till 1937, Dr. Kielhorn's view that the Cedi year commenced on Āśvin śu. di. 1 was generally accepted. In an article entitled 'the Epoch of the Kalacuri-Cedi era,' which the present writer read at the ninth session of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Trivandrum in 1937, he examined thirteen later dates of the era discovered since Dr. Kielhorn's time and showed that though they verified the epoch of A. D. 247-48 fixed by Kielhorn, they clearly showed that the Cedi year could not have commenced in Āśvina. It must have begun on some day between Āśvina śu. di. 15 and Phālguna va. di. 7. And since we do not know of any Hindu year beginning in any of the months from Mārgaśīrṣa to

¹ It is to be published in the *Epigraphia Indica*.

² *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. II, pp. 95 ff.

Phālguna it appeared probable that, like the Southern Vikrama year, the Cedi year also commenced on Kārttika śu. di. 1. As regards Colebrooke's statement on which Kielhorn relied for his view that the Cedi year commenced on Āśvina śu. di. 1, it was pointed out that the statement in question referred to the festival of Durgā which is, to this day, celebrated with great eclat not only in the Central Provinces, but in other parts of India also. Colebrooke was clearly mistaken when he thought that the festival marked the beginning of the new year. Besides, the Cedi year could not have been current in Nagpur as that part of the country was not, except perhaps in very early times, included in the kingdom of the Kalacuris.¹

In 1944 the present writer showed from an examination of the so-called Indore grants of the *Mahārājas* Svāmīdāsa and Bhulūṇḍa that they originally belonged to Khandesh and that their dates 67 and 107, as also the date 117 of the Śirpur grant of *Mahārāja* Rudradāsa should be referred to the era founded by the Ābhīra king Īśvarasena.² These princes of Khandesh explicitly mention their own feudatory status in their grants. They must therefore have owned the suzerainty of the contemporary Ābhīra kings ruling over Northern Mahārāṣṭra.

In 1945 the present writer further showed that the date 167 of the Barwāni plate of *Mahārāja* Subandhu also must be referred to the same reckoning.³ This date and the dates of the aforementioned Khandesh grants are thus the earliest dates so far discovered of the so-called Kalacuri-Cedi era.

I have so far shown how our knowledge about the epoch of the Kalacuri-Cedi era has advanced step by step since 1859 when Dr. Fitz-Edward Hall first made his ingenious conjecture on the subject. I shall next examine such dates of the era as furnish details for computation in order to determine the exact epoch of the era.

Here we must divide the dates into two classes viz.—(1) the earlier ones down to the year 490 which come from Gujarat and

¹ For a full discussion of this matter, see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 116 ff.

² *A. B. O. R. I.* Vol. XXVI, pp. 159 f.

³ *Ind. Hist. Quart.* Vol. XXI, pp. 79 f. Since this article was sent to the press, I have shown that the date of Kānakherā stone inscription of the Śaka Śrīdharavarman, which I have read as 102, also refers to the Kalacuri era. *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 34f.

3 [Annals, B. O. R. I.]

Northern Mahārāṣṭra where, as shown below, the era had its origin and (2) the later ones from the year 593 to the year 969 which come from Bāghelkhand, United Provinces and Central Provinces including Chhattisgarh, where the era was introduced with the extension of the Kalacuri power. It has already been pointed out by Kielhorn¹ that the same epoch does not suit these two classes of dates. In regard to the first, the only equation which yields satisfactory results is Kalacuri Samvat 0=A. D. 248-49, while in regard to the second the equation is Kalacuri Samvat 0=A. D. 247-48. In both the periods the Kalacuri year commenced on Kārttika śū. di. 1, but in the earlier period the months were *amānta* while in the later one they were *pūrṇimānta*.

I Early Dates of the Kalacuri Era

As the epoch for these dates is A. D. 248-49, the first day of the first current year of that era is the *amānta* Kārttika śū. di. 1 (25th September) in A. D. 249 (corresponding to the expired Śaka year 171). Therefore, to convert a current Kalacuri year into an expired Śaka year we have to add 170 when the date falls in any of the months from Kārttika to Phālguna and 171 in all other cases. Similarly, to convert an expired Kalacuri year into an expired Śaka year we have to add 171 and 172 respectively in the same circumstances.

Among early dates of the era there are only five which contain details necessary for computation. Three of these are in expired years and the remaining two in current ones as shown below.

Dates in Expired Years

1 Nausāri plates of Jayabhata III (No. 23²)—

Lines 30-31 - *Māgha-śuddha-pañcadtyām candr-oparūge i. e.*, on the 15th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Māgha, on (the occasion of) a lunar eclipse. Lines 41-42 give the year 456 (expressed both in words and numerical symbols). The plates mentioned also in l. 43 the *tithi* (now completely lost) and the week-day (which judging from the traces left, was either *Monday* or *Tuesday*) on which the grant was recorded. Assuming that the grant was recorded on the same day on which it was made, *i. e.*,

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, Appendix, p. 57, n. 6 and 7.

² These references are to the list of inscriptions in the Kalacuri-Cedi Era printed in the Appendix at the end of this article.

Māgha śu. di. 15, Monday or Tuesday, we find that according to the epoch of A. D. 248-49, the corresponding Christian date for the expired year 456 (*i. e.*, for the expired Śaka year 456 *plus* 172=628) is *Tuesday*, the 2nd February A. D. 706. On that day, the aforementioned *tithi* ended 16 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise and there was a *lunar eclipse* as stated in the grant.

If the year 456 is applied as current, the *tithi* falls on the 14th January A. D. 705 which was a Wednesday (not Monday or Tuesday as required). Besides, there was no lunar eclipse on that day. In A. D. 704 also there was no lunar eclipse on the stated *tithi* which shows that the epoch A. D. 247-48 which suits later dates of the era is wholly inapplicable in this case.¹

2 Anjaneri plates of Jayabhata III (No. 24) - Line 30. - *Āsvayuja-bahul-e(ai)kūdaśyām Tulā-saṁkrānti ravau*, *i. e.*, on the eleventh *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Āśvina on the occasion of the sun's entering into the *tulā* (the Zodiacal sign of Libra). Line 39 gives the same *tithi* together with the year 460 (expressed in numerical symbols).² The occurrence of the Tulā Saṁkrānti in the dark fortnight of Āśvina shows that the month was *amānta*. According to the epoch of A. D. 248-9 with the year commencing on the *amānta* Kārttika śu. di. 1, the date regularly corresponds, for the expired year 460 (*i. e.*, for the expired Śaka year 460 *plus* 172=632) to Tuesday, the 23rd September A. D. 710. On that day the 11th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Āśvina commenced 45 m. after mean sunrise and ended 22h. 45 m. after mean sunrise on the same day. Like the *tithi* of the Kāvi plates of K. 486, this was, therefore, a *kṣaya-tithi*; but as the *Tulā-Saṁkrānti* occurred 15 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise on that day while the 11th *tithi* of the bright half of Āśvina was current, it is coupled with the latter.

If the year is applied as current, the Tulā-saṁkrānti falls on the Āśvina śu. di. 5 (the 24th September A. D. 708), not on

¹ According to this epoch of A. D. 247-48 the date should fall in A. D. 704 if the year 456 was a current year and in A. D. 705 if it was an expired one.

² The editor of this record has read the date as 461, but the dot which he takes as the symbol for 1 is used throughout this record as a superfluous mark of punctuation. The intended date was therefore 460.

Āśvina va. di. 11 as required. In A. D. 707 also the Tulā-samkrānti did not occur on the stated *tithi* which shows that the other epoch of A. D. 247-48 is wholly inapplicable in this case also.

3 Kāvī plate of Jayabhata IV (No. 26) - Lines 15-16 - *Āṣāḍha-śuddha-daśamyām Karkkaṭaka-r[ā]śau samkrānte ravau*, i. e., on the tenth *tithi* of the bright half of Āṣāḍha on the occasion of the sun's entering into the zodiacal sign of *Karkkaṭaka*. Lines 24 and 25 give the year 486, Āṣāḍha śu. 12,¹ a *Sunday*, as the date of the recording of the grant. According to the epoch of A. D. 248-49 the Karkkaṭa-samkrānti in the expired year 486 (i. e. in the expired Śaka year 486 plus 172 = 658) occurred about 8 h. after mean sunrise on the 22nd June A. D. 736. The 10th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āṣāḍha commenced 21 m. after mean sunrise of the 22nd June and ended 1 h. 21 m. before mean sunrise of the 23rd June. It was, therefore, a *kṣaya-tithi*, but as the *Karkkaṭa samkrānti* took place during the tenth *tithi* it is coupled with it. Again the 12th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the same lunar month fell on a *Sunday* (the 24th June A. D. 735) as required. The date is thus perfectly regular.

In the current year 486, on the other hand, the samkrānti occurred on Thursday, the 23rd June A. D. 735 which was the 13th of the dark fortnight of Āṣāḍha (not the 10th of the bright fortnight of that month as required).

In A. D. 734 also the samkrānti did not occur on Āṣāḍha śu. di. 10, which shows that the other epoch of A. D. 247-48 is wholly inapplicable in this case too.

Dates in Current Years

4 Kaṣāre plates of Allaśakti² (No. 18) - Lines 31 - *Sam 400 (and) 4, Āṣāḍha ba amāvasyā, Sūrya-grah-ōparāṅge*, i. e., in the year 404, on the new-moon day of the dark fortnight of Āṣāḍha, on the occasion of a solar eclipse. According to the epoch of A. D. 248-49, the amāvasyā of the pūrṇimānta Āṣāḍha in the current year 404 (i. e., in the expired Śaka year 404 plus 171 = 575) fell on the

¹ As regards the reading of the number of the *tithi*, see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 220 ff.

² These plates have been published by Mr. G. H. Khare in the *Bhārata Itihāsa Samśodhaka Maṇḍala's Quarterly*, Vol. XX, Nos. IV and V and Vol. XXI, No. 2.

1st June A. D. 653, on which day there was a solar eclipse as stated in the plates. There was no solar eclipse on the *amānta* Āṣāḍha of this year.

If the year is applied as expired, the date would fall in A. D. 634, but there was no solar eclipse on the *pūrṇimānta* or *amānta* Āṣāḍha of that year.

According to the other epoch of A. D. 247-48, the *tithi* should fall in A. D. 652 or A. D. 653 according as the year 404 was current or expired. In A. D. 652 there was no solar eclipse at all. In A. D. 653, of course, the eclipse did occur on the stated *tithi* as shown above and so the date may be said to be in an expired year according to that epoch. But if we have to explain all early dates according to a uniform process, this date will have to be regarded as recorded in a current year according to the epoch of A. D. 248-49, rather than in an expired year according to the epoch of A. D. 247-48.

5 Nāsik plates of Dharāśraya-Jayasimha¹ (No. 21)-L. 19 - *Caitra-mūsa-śuddha-daśamyaṁ viṣuḥ* (*viṣuve*), i. e., on the tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Caitra, on the occasion of the vernal equinox. Line 28 gives the date *Sam. 400 (and) 30 (and) 6, Cai śu 10, i. e.*, the 10th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Caitra in the year 436. According to the epoch of A. D. 248-49 the corresponding Christian date for the current year 436 (i. e., the expired Śaka year 436 plus 171=607) is the 20th March A. D. 685. On that day the tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Caitra began 12 h. 45 m. on the 20th March A. D. 685. The *viṣuva* or *Mesa-saṁkrānti* had occurred 5 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise on the same day. The *saṁkrānti* did not thus take place during the 10th *tithi*, but as the *parva-kāla* of the *Mesa-saṁkrānti* extends to as many as 40 *ghaṭikās* before and after the *saṁkrānti*, the *tithi* is coupled with the *saṁkrānti*.

If the year is applied as expired, the *tithi* would fall on the 10th March A. D. 686, but the *Mesa saṁkrānti* took place 10 days later on the 20th March A. D. 686.

¹ These plates have been published by Mr. G. H. Khare in the *Sources of the Mediaeval History of the Deccan*, Vol. I, pp. 12 ff., but he has not noticed the date which occurs in l. 28.

According to the other epoch of A. D. 247-48, the date would be expected to fall in A. D. 684 if the year 436 was current and in A. D. 685 if it was expired. But in A. D. 684 the *tithi* fell on the 3rd March, while the Meṣa-samkrānti occurred 16 days later on the 19th March. In A. D. 685 it did fall on that *tithi* as shown above, but in view of the other early dates for which the epoch of A. D. 247-48 appears wholly inapplicable, it seems better to take this date as recorded in a current year according to the epoch of A. D. 248-49.

A careful examination of these five early dates of the Kalacuri era will show that—

(1) All these dates can be shown to be regular according to the epoch of A. D. 248-49; for though the dates 4 and 5 can also be explained as dates in expired years according to the epoch of A. D. 247-48, that epoch will not at all suit the first three dates.

(2) Date 2 shows that the month of Āśvina stood at the close of the Kalacuri year; in other words, that the Kalacuri year commenced in some month later than Āśvina, probably in Kārttika.

(3) Among the five dates there are only two (*viz.*, 2 and 4) which fell in the dark fortnight. As shown above, one of them (*viz.*, date 2) shows that the month cited in it was *amānta* and the other date (4) that it was *pūrṇimānta*. From this one cannot of course draw any definite conclusion. But it is noteworthy that the months of the Śaka era which was current in Mahārāṣṭra both before the rise and after the disappearance of the Kalacuri era, were almost invariably *amānta*.¹ Besides, the date 4 comes from Khandesh and belongs to the reign Sendraka prince Allaśakti. Another date from Khandesh which occurs in a record of this same Allaśakti's son Jayaśakti mentions that the Mina Samkrānti in the Śaka year 602 (A. D. 680-81) occurred on the 10th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Phālguna.² This clearly

¹ Among the 400 dates of the Śaka era which Prof. Kielhorn collected, there was only a single one which could confidently be said to be according to the *pūrṇimānta* scheme. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXV. p. 272.

² *An. Rep.* of the Bhārata Itihāsa Samśodhaka Maṇḍala for Śaka 1834, pp. 169 ff.

shows that the month Phālguna was *amānta*. We may, therefore, conclude that the months of the Kalacuri year as current in Mahārāṣṭra and Gujarat were generally *amānta* and only exceptionally *pūrṇimānta*.

(4) The proportion of expired years to current ones is 3 : 2. This is in keeping with that observed in the case of other eras. Most of the early dates of the Kalacuri era are not verifiable for want of necessary details. Otherwise, the proportion of expired years would have been still higher.

According to the testimony of these five dates, therefore, the Kalacuri era commenced on the *amānta* Kārttika śu. di. 1 (the 25th September) A. D. 249.

Later Dates of the Kalacuri Era

We shall next take the later dates of the Kalacuri era. As stated before, these dates come from North India and Chhattisgarh where the era was introduced by the Kalacuris. The epoch which suits these dates is that of A. D. 247-48, the year commencing on the *pūrṇimānta* Kārttika śu. di. 1. The first day of the first current year of the Kalacuri era according to this epoch was *pūrṇimānta* Kārttika śu. di. 1 (the 6th October) A. D. 248. Therefore to convert a current Kalacuri year into an expired Śaka year we have to add 169 when the date falls in the bright fortnight of Kārttika or in any of the months from Mārgaśīrṣa to Phālguna and 170 in other cases. Similarly to convert an expired Kalacuri year into an expired Śaka year we have to add 170 and 171 respectively in the same circumstances.

Dates in Expired Years

1 Benares plates of Kaṇa (No. 33) - Lines 39-40—*Śrīmad-Gāṅgeyadevasya sainvatsare(a)-srū(śrā)dlhe Phālguna-va(ba)hulapakṣa-dvitiyāyām sa(śa)naisca(śca) ra-vūsare, i. e., on the occasion of the first annual śrāddha of the illustrious Gāṅgeyadeva, on Saturday, the second tithi of the dark fortnight of Phālguna. Line 48-Sainvat 793 Phālguna va di 9 Some, i. e. on Monday, the 9th tithi of the dark fortnight of Phālguna in the year 793.*

Of the two dates mentioned in this record, the second regularly corresponds, for the expired year 793 (i. e., Śaka 793 plus 170=963) to Monday, the 18th January A. D. 1042, on which day

the 9th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Phālguna ended 18 hours after mean sunrise. In A. D. 1041 the *tithi* fell on a Thursday; so the year cannot be applied as current.

The first date is irregular, for the second *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Phālguna fell on Monday (the 11th January A. D. 1042), not on Saturday, but the apparent irregularity can be satisfactorily explained as shown elsewhere.¹

2 Goharwā plates of Karna (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. XI, pp. 142 f.)—*Śrīmat-Karna-prakāśe vyavaharane sapta-ma-saṁvatsare Kārttika-māsī su(śu)kḷa-pakṣa-Kārttikī-paurṇamāsyān tithau Guru-dine, i. e.*, During the seventh year of administration rendered glorious by the illustrious Karna, on Thursday, the full-moon day of Kārttika. As shown elsewhere,² Karna came to the throne some time after Phālguna va. di. 2 in the expired Kalacuri year 792. Taking the Kalacuri year to be *Kārttikādi*, the month Kārttika in the first year of Karna's reign fell in the expired year 793. The same month in the seventh regnal year must have fallen in the expired year 799 (*i. e.*, in the expired Śaka year 799 plus 170=969). The full-moon *tithi* in this year ended 13 h. 30 after mean sunrise on Thursday, the 5th November A. D. 1047. The date is thus quite regular. It shows that the Kalacuri year commenced on³ some *tithi* before Kārttika purnimā.

If the Kalacuri year commenced in some month later than Kārttika, the date would fall in A. D. 1046. But in that year the full moon day of Kārttika fell on a Friday (the 17th October), not on a Thursday as required.

3. Rewah stone inscription of the reign of Karna (No. 34) Line 31—*Khara [nāmnā (mni) mahā-maṅgala-saṁvatsare] 800 i. e.*, In the very auspicious year 800 named *Khara*. The date does not give any details for verification except the name of the Jovian year *Khara*. Now the expired Kalacuri year 800 corresponded to A. D. 1048-49. The corresponding Jovian year was *Khara* according to the northern luni-solar system. The date is thus regular. If the year 800 had been a current year, the Jovian year would have been *Vikṛta*.

¹ See Woolner Commemoration Volume, pp. 165 ff.

² *Loc. Cit.*

4. Rewah stone inscription of the reign of Karṇa (No. 36) - *Saṃvatsata(ra) 812 śrīmat-Karṇa-prakāṭa-vyavaharaṇayā navatma-saṃvatsare Māgha-sudi 10 Gurau, i. e., the year 812, the ninth year of the administration rendered glorious by Karṇa, the tenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Māgha, a Thursday. The corresponding Christian date for the expired year 812 (i. e., for the expired Śaka year 812 plus 170 = 982) is Thursday, the 4th January A. D. 1061 when the tenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Māgha ended 3 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise. The date is thus regular.*

5. Ratanpur stone inscription of Jājalladeva (No. 40) - Line 31 - *Saṃvat 866 Mārga sudi 9 Ravau, i. e., (in) the year 866, on Sunday the 9th tithi of the bright fortnight of Mārgaśīrṣa. The date regularly corresponds, for the expired year 866 (i. e., for the expired Śaka year 866 plus 170 = 1036) to Sunday, the 8th November A. D. 1114. On that day the 9th tithi of the bright fortnight of Mārgaśīrṣa ended 20 h. after mean sunrise. In the current year 866 the tithi fell on Wednesday, the 3rd December A. D. 1113.*

6. Sheorinārāyan plates of Ratnadeva II (No. 41) - Line 26 *Saṃvata(t) 878, Bhādra sudi 5 Ravau, i. e., (In) the year 878, on Sunday, the 5th tithi of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada. The date regularly corresponds for the expired year 878 (i. e., the expired Śaka year 878 plus 171 = 1049) to Sunday, the 14th August A. D. 1127. On that day, the fifth tithi of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada ended 8 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise.*

In the current year 878, the tithi fell on Tuesday, the 24th August A. D. 1126.

7. Sarkho plates of Ratnadeva (No. 42) - Lines 23-24 - *Ten = āsī(śi) ty-adhi-āṣṭa-vatsara-śate jā(yā) te dine Gihpateḥ Kārttikyām = atha Rohiṇi-ibha-samaye rātreś = ca yāma-traye | Śrīmad-Ratna-nareśvarasya sadasi jyotiṛ-vidām = agrataḥ sarva-grāsam = an-uṣṇa-goh pravadatū tīrṇṇā pratijñā-nadī || i. e., the expired year 880, the fifteenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Kārttika, Thursday, with a total eclipse of the moon when she was in the constellation of Rohiṇi. The date regularly corresponds, for the expired year 880 (i. e., the expired Śaka year 880 plus 170 = 1050), to Thursday the 8th November A. D. 1128, when the moon*

was totally eclipsed in the third quarter of the night. The *nakṣatra Rohiṇī* commenced 13 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise on that day. The date is thus perfectly regular.

The explicit statement that the year 880 was expired is important. It shows that with the epoch of A. D. 247-48 which suits all later dates, the Kalacuri year must have commenced before Kārttika purnimā.

8. Daikoni plates of Prthvīdeva II (No. 43) - Lines 23-*Rāhu-graste rajani-tilake Kārttike pañcadaśyām*, i. e., on the fifteenth tithi of Kārttika when the moon was swallowed by Rāhu. L. 26-27 - *Saivvat 890 Margga vadi 11 Ravau*,¹ i. e. in the year 890, on Sunday, the 11th tithi of the dark fortnight of Mārgaśīrṣa. In the expired year 890 (i. e., the expired Śaka year 890 plus 170 = 1060) there was a lunar eclipse on the full-moon day of Kārttika (Wednesday, the 19th October 1138). The other date corresponds, for the expired year 890, to Sunday, the 13th October 1138. On that day the 11th tithi of the dark fortnight of pūrṇimānta Mārgaśīrṣa commenced 9 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise. Though not current at sunrise, the tithi seems to have been coupled with the week-day because it was current at the time the grant was actually recorded.

In A. D. 1139 there was no lunar eclipse in Kārttika though the 11th tithi of the dark fortnight of the pūrṇimānta Mārgaśīrṣa fell on a Sunday (the 19th November 1139).

In the current year 890 (A. D. 1137) there was no lunar eclipse on Kārttika purnimā and the tithi also did not fall on a Sunday.

9. Rājim stone inscription of Jagapāla (No. 45) - Lines 18-19-*Kulacuri-saivatsara(re) 896 Māghe māsi su(śu)kla-pakṣe rathā-ṣṭamyām Vu(Bu)dha-dine*, i. e. In the Kalacuri year 896, on Wednesday, the eighth tithi (called Rathāṣṭamī) of the bright fortnight of the month Māgha. This date regularly corresponds for the expired year 896 (i. e., the expired Śaka year 896 plus 170 = 1066) to Wednesday, the 3rd January A. D. 1145. On that day the eighth tithi of the bright fortnight of Māgha ended 10 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise.

¹ From an impression kindly supplied by the Govt. Epigraphist for India.

In the current year 896, on the other hand, the *tithi* fell on Saturday, the 15th January A. D. 1144.

10 Amodā plates of Prithvideva II (No. 47) - Line 24—*Caitre Soma-grahe sati* ; 1. 33 - *Sāvat 900*, i. e., the year 900 with a *lunar eclipse* in the month of *Caitra*. The corresponding Christian date for the expired year 900 (i. e., the expired Śaka year 900 *plus* 171=1071) is Friday, the 25th March A. D. 1149. On that day there was a *lunar eclipse* visible at Ratanpur.

In the current year 900, (A. D. 1148), on the other hand, there was no lunar eclipse in *Caitra*.

11 Tewar Stone inscription of the reign of Gayākarnadeva (No. 48) - Lines 20-22—*Nava-sa' śa)ta-yugal-ābd-ādhikeyage Cedi-diṣṭe ja[na*]padam=avat=īmañ śrī-Gayākarnadevaḥ pratipadi Śucimāsa-śveta-pakṣe=rkka-vāre ... i. e.* In the year 902 of the Cedi era, on *Sunday*, the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āśāḍha during the reign of the illustrious Gayākarna. The date regularly corresponds, for the expired year 902 (i. e. the expired Śaka year 902 *plus* 171=1073), to *Sunday*, the 17th June A. D. 1151, on which day the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āśāḍha ended 2 h. after mean sunrise.

In the current year 902, on the other hand, there were two Āśāḍhas. In the *Adhika* Āśāḍha the *tithi* fell on Monday, the 29th May A. D. 1150, and in the *Nija* Āśāḍha, on Tuesday, the 27th June A. D. 1150.

12 Amodā plates of Prthvideva II (No. 49) - Line 35—*Main(Sam)vata(t) 905 Āsvi(śvi)na sudi 6 Bhaume*—(In) the year 905 on *Tuesday*, the 6th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āśvina. The date regularly corresponds, for the expired year 905 (i. e., Śaka year 905 *plus* 171=1076) to *Tuesday*, the 14th September A. D. 1154. On that day the sixth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āśvina commenced 1 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise. With the Kalacuri era commencing on Āśvina śu. di. 1 in A. D. 1148, this date should fall in A. D. 1152 if the Kalacuri year 905 is taken as current and in A. D. 1153 if it is taken as expired. But in A. D. 1152 the *tithi* ended 7 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise on Saturday (the 6th September) and in A. D. 1153 it ended 7 h. after mean sunrise on Friday (the 25th September). In either case it would have to be regarded as irregular.

13. Bherā-Ghāt stone inscription of Alhanadevi (No. 50)-
Line 29 - *Saṃvat 907 Mārgga-sudi 11 Ravau, i. e., (In) the year 907 on Sunday, the 11th tithi of the bright fortnight of Mārga-śrīṣa. This date corresponds for the expired year 907 (i. e., the expired Śaka year 907 plus 170=1077) to Sunday, the 6th November A. D. 1155, on which day the tithi commenced 2 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise. It ended 45 m. after mean sunrise on the next day. Though not current at sunrise the tithi must have been joined to the week-day ' which was almost entirely filled by it '. In the current year 907 on the other hand the tithi fell on Wednesday the 17th November A. D. 1154.*

14. Lāl-Pahād rock inscription of the reign of Narasiṃha (No. 51)-Line 7 - *Saṃvat 909 Śrā(Śrā)vaṇa sudi 5 Vuddhe (Budhe) i. e., (In) the year 909, on Wednesday, the 5th tithi of the bright fortnight of Śrāvaṇa. In the expired Kalacuri year 909 (corresponding to the expired year 909 plus 171=1080) there were two Śrāvaṇas. Of these the first or adhika Śrāvaṇa is evidently meant here;¹ for the fifth tithi of the bright fortnight of it ended 16 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise on Wednesday, the 2nd July A. D. 1158.*

In the current year 907 on the other hand the tithi fell on Saturday, the 13th November A. D. 1157.

15. Jubbulpore plates of Jayasiṃha (No. 55) - Lines 25-26—
Saṃvat 918 Āśvina su(śu)di paurṇamāsyāṃ tithau Sa(Śa)mi-dine ... Soma-grahane - i. e., (In) the year 918, on Saturday, the full-moon tithi of Āśvina, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse. The date regularly corresponds for the expired year 918 (i. e., the expired Śaka year 918 plus 171=1089) to Saturday, the 30th September A. D. 1167. On that day the full-moon tithi ended 13 h. after mean sunrise and there was a lunar eclipse. With the Kalacuri era commencing on Āśvina śu. di. 1 in A. D. 248, this date should fall in A. D. 1165 if the year is current and in A. D. 1166 if it is expired. But in A. D. 1165 the tithi fell on Tuesday (the 21st September) and in A. D. 1166 it fell on Monday (the 10th October). Again in neither year was there a lunar eclipse on the given tithi.

¹ For another instance of an intercalary month not being so specified, see date 17, below.

If the year 918 is applied as current, the *tithi* should fall in A. D. 1166, but as shown above it would not be regular.

16 Rewah plate of Kirtivarman (No. 60) - Line 14— *Saṃvat 926, Bhādrapada-māsē śukla-pakṣe Caturthyāṁ tithau Guru-dīne Rāṇaka-śrī-Vatsarājasya nimitte piṇḍ-ārcana-sthāne, i. e.,* (In) the year 926 on *Thursday*, the fourth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada at the place of worshipping the balls (of rice) offered in honour of the Rāṇaka, the illustrious Vatsarāja. The date regularly corresponds for the expired year 926 (*i. e.* the expired Śaka year 926 plus 171 = 1097) to *Thursday*, the 21st August A. D. 1175. On that day, the *tithi* commenced 8 h. 9 m. after mean sunrise. Though not current at sunrise, it is coupled with the weekday as it was current in the afternoon at the time of the performance of the *śrāddha*.

In the current year 926, on the other hand, the *tithi* fell on Saturday, the 3rd August A. D. 1174.

17. Tewar stone inscription of the reign of Jayasimha (No. 63)- Line 7 - *Saṃvat 928 Śrāvaṇa su(śu)di 6 Ravau Haste i. e. (in)* the year 928 on *Sunday*, the 6 *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Śrāvaṇa when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism of *Hasta*. There were two Śrāvaṇas in the expired Kalacuri year 928 (*i. e.*, in the expired Śaka year 928 plus 171 = 1099). Of these the first or *adhika* Śrāvaṇa is intended here;¹ for the 6th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of that month ended 7 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise on *Sunday*, the 3rd July A. D. 1177 and the *nakṣatra* *Hasta* also ended, 16 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise on that day. In the *nija* Śrāvaṇa of that year the *tithi* fell on Monday, the 1st August and the *nakṣatra* was Citrā.

In the current year 928 again the *tithi* fell on Wednesday the 14th July and the *nakṣatra* was Citrā.

18. Sāhaspur statue inscription of Yaśōrāja (No. 66) - L. 5- *Saṃvat 934, Kārttika su(śu)di 15 Vu(Bu)dhe i. e.,* (In) the year 934, on *Wednesday*, the fifteenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Kārttika. The date regularly corresponds for the expired year 934 *i. e.*, the expired Śaka year 934 plus 170 = 1104) to *Wednes-*

¹ For a similar case of an intercalary month cited without being specified as such, see above page 28, date 14.

day, the 15th October A. D. 1182. On that day the 15th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Kārttika ended 14 h. after mean sunrise.

In the current year 934 on the other hand the *tithi* fell on Saturday, the 24th October, A. D. 1181.

19. Rewah plates of the reign of Vijayasimha (No. 67) - Line 26 - *Catvāriṃśaty-adhikē'vde(bde) Caturbhir-nnavame śate Śukre Sāhasamall-āṅke Nābhasye prathame dine || Samvat 944 Bhādrapada su(śu) di 1, Śukre - i. e., (In) the year 944 on Friday the 1st tithi of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada in the year called Sāhasa-mall-āṅka. This date corresponds for the expired year 944 (i. e., the expired Śaka year 944 plus 171 = 1115) to Friday, the 30th July A. D. 1193. On that day, the first tithi of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada ended 22 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise.*

In the current year 944, on the other hand, the *tithi* fell on Monday, the 3rd August A. D. 1114.

20. Besāni stone inscription (No. 68) - *Samvata(t) [9] 58 prathama Āṣa(ṣā) ḍha su(śu) di 3* - The expired Kalacuri year 958 corresponds to A. D. 1206-7. In A. D. 1207 there were two *Āṣāḍhas* of which the first or intercalary *Āṣāḍha* lasted from the 14th May to the 11th June.

In the current year 958, on the other hand there was no intercalary *Āṣāḍha*.

21. Dhureṭi Plates of the reign of Trailokyamalla (No. 70) - Line 7, *Samma(va) t 963 Jyestha śu di 7 Soma-dinaṁ(ne), i. e., In the year 963 on Monday, the 7th tithi of the bright fortnight of Jyestha. The details do not work out satisfactorily; for according to the epoch of A. D. 247-48, the tithi fell on Friday (the 20th May, A. D. 1211) if the year 963 was current and on Wednesday (the 9th May A. D. 1212) if it was expired. In view of the slovenly manner in which the record has been written throughout, it is not unlikely that Some (on Monday) is a mistake for Saumye (on Wednesday) in which case the date would be regular for the expired year 963.*

22. Penḍrābandha plates of Pratāpamalla (No. 72) - Line 26, *grāmo Makara-saṁkrāntau dattaḥ saṁkalpa-pūrvakaḥ; 1. 35 Samvata(t) 965 ... Māgha su di 10 Maṅgala-dine. The details of the date are Makara-saṁkrānti; the year 965, Tuesday, the 10th*

of the bright fortnight of Māgha. As it stands, the date is *irregular*, for in none of the years 1212-1215 was the tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Māgha connected with a Tuesday. If, however, *sudi* is taken to be a mistake for *vadi* it corresponds, for the expired year 965 (*i. e.*, the expired Śaka year 965 *plus* 170=1135), regularly to *Tuesday*, the 7th January A. D. 1214. On that day the 10th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the pūrṇimānta Māgha ended 10 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise. The Makara Saṁkrānti had taken place about a fortnight earlier on the 25th December A. D. 1213.

In the current year 965, the *tithi* Māgha śu. di. 10 fell on Saturday, the 2nd February A. D. 1213.

* 23 Tahankāpār plate of Pamparājadeva (No. 73)—Lines 7 and 8 *Iṣa(śva)ra-Saṁvatsare Kārttika-māse Citrā-ṛkṣe Ravi-dine Sūryoparāḡe*; 1. 10—*Saṁvat 966*. On the occasion of a solar eclipse on Sunday in the *nakṣatra* Citrā in the month of Kārttika in the cyclic year Īśvara: in the year 966. The date corresponds, for the expired year 966 (*i. e.*, the expired Śaka year 966 *plus* 170=1136) to Sunday, the 5th October A. D. 1214 when there was a solar eclipse visible at Kānker, the *tithi* being the new-moon day of the pūrṇimānta Kārttika and *nakṣatra* Citrā. The cyclic year however, does not agree. According to the southern luni-solar system it was Bhāva and according to the northern system it was Bahudhānya. The discrepancy is evidently due to the writer's carelessness.

In the current year 966, on the other hand, there was no lunar eclipse on the pūrṇimānta or amānta Kārttika.

24 Bilaigarh plates of Pratāpamalla¹ (No. 74)—Line 28—*Āṣāḍhyām Soma-parvaṇi*; 1.38—*Saṁvat 969, i. e., A lunar eclipse on the full-moon day of Āṣāḍha in the year 969*. This date regularly corresponds, for the expired year 969 (*i. e.*, the expired Śaka year 969 *plus* 171=1140), to the 24th June A. D. 1218. On that day the full-moon *tithi* of Āṣāḍha ended 18 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise and there was also a *lunar eclipse* as stated in the grant.

In the current year 969 (corresponding to A. D. 1217) there was no lunar eclipse on the full-moon *tithi* of Āṣāḍha.

¹ From ink impressions kindly supplied by Government Epigraphist for India.

Dates in Current Years

25 Makundpur stone inscription of the reign of Gāṅgeya-deva¹ (No. 31) - *Saṃvat 772, Kārttika su di 12 Vu(Bu)dha-dine* - on *Wednesday*, the 12th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Kārttika in the year 772.

This date occurring in the month of Kārttika should fall in A. D. 1019 if the year 772 was current and in A. D. 1020 if it was expired. But in A. D. 1019, the afore-mentioned *tithi* ended 11 h. after mean sunrise on Tuesday (the 13th October) and in A. D. 1020, 5 h. after mean sunrise on Monday (the 31st October). In neither case was it connected with a *Wednesday*. The date is thus *irregular*. But if the deviation of one day is overlooked it may be taken to correspond to the 13th October A. D. 1019.

26 Sārṇāth stone inscription of the reign of Karṇa (No. 35)—Line 6 - *Samva[tsara] [8]10 Āsvina (Āsvina) [su]di 15 Ravau, i. e., (In) the year 810, on Sunday, the fifteenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Āsvina. The date corresponds, for the current year 810 (i. e., the expired Śaka year 810 plus 170=980) to Sunday, the 4th October A. D. 1058. On that day the fifteenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Āsvina ended 15 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise.*

In the expired year 810, on the other hand, the *tithi* fell on *Friday*, the 24th September A. D. 1059.

27 Amodā plates of Prthivideva I (No. 38)—Lines 27-28. *Gha(Phā)lguna-kṛṣṇa-saptan.yām Ravi-dine; 1. 41 - Ced-īsa- (śa)sya sain 831, i. e., (In) the year 831, on Sunday the seventh tithi of the dark fortnight of Phālguna. This date regularly corresponds, for the current year 831 (i. e., the expired Śaka year 831 plus 169=1000) to Sunday the 27th January A. D. 1079. On that day, the seventh tithi of the dark fortnight of the pūrṇimānta Phālguna ended 7 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise.*

In the expired year 831, on the other hand, the *tithi* fell on *Thursday*, the 16th January A. D. 1080.

28 Sheorinārāyaṇ statue inscription (No. 46)—*Kalacurih(ri)-samvatsare 898 Āsvini (Āsvina) sudi [2]² Somi-dine, i. e., In*

¹ From ink impressions which I owe to the kindness of the Government Epigraphist.

² From an excellent ink impression which I have recently received from Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, I find that the *tithi* originally incised was 2, but the lower part of the figure has now become indistinct, thus making it appear like 7.

the Kalacuri year 898, on Monday, the second *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āśvina. This date regularly corresponds, for the current year 898 (or the expired Śaka year 898 *plus* 170=1068) to Monday, the 9th September A. D. 1146. On that day, the second *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āśvina ended 21 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise.

In the expired year 898 on the other hand the *tithi* fell on Sunday (the 28th September A. D. 1147).

29 Tahankāpār plate of Pamparāja (No. 71)—Line 9—*Samvata(t) 965 Bhādrapada va di 10, Mrga-ṛkṣe Sodma(ma)-dine, i. e.,* (In) the year 965, on Monday, the 10th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Bhādrapada, the *nakṣatra* being *Mrga*. This date corresponds, for the current year 965 (or the expired Śaka year 965 *plus* 170 = 1135), to Monday, the 12th August A. D. 1213. On that day the 10th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Bhādrapada commenced 6 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise. Though the *tithi* was not current at sunrise on Monday, it is coupled with that week-day probably because it was current at the time when the transaction recorded in the plate was made.

If the year is applied as expired, the *tithi* would fall on Saturday (the 2nd August A. D. 1214).

A careful examination of these 29 later dates¹ of the Kalacuri era will show that—

¹ Among these 29 dates there are only three viz. Nos. 21, 22 and 25 which are slightly irregular but the irregularity can be satisfactorily explained as shown above. The others work out quite satisfactorily with the epoch of A. D. 247-48. The following dates have been omitted for the reason stated in each case :—

(1) the Khairha plates of Yaśaḥkara (Bhandarkar's List, No. 1227), because the year of the date is manifestly wrong (See *Woolner Commemoration Volume*, p. 168).

(2) the Ghoṭia plates of Prthivideva II (Bhandarkar's List, No. 1256), because numerals of the date are evidently incorrect ; and

(3) the Amodā plates of Jājalladeva II (Bhandarkar's List, No. 2032), because the last figure of the date is uncertain. I have omitted one more date viz. 928, *Magha-badi 10, Monday*, though it regularly corresponds, for the expired year 928, to Monday, the 27th December A. D. 1176 ; for it is known only from a statement of Sir A. Cunningham. See his *A. S. R.* Vol. IX, p. 111 and *Indian Eras*, p. 61. •

(1) All of them can be shown to be regular only according to the epoch of A. D. 247-48; for though the first twenty-four dates can also be explained as dates in current years with the epoch of A. D. 248-49, that epoch will not at all do for the remaining five dates 25-29.

(2) The dates 6, 16 and 19 clearly show that with the epoch of A. D. 247-48, the Kalacuri year must have begun in some month later than Bhādrapada. Kielhorn's earlier view that the Kalacuri year was *Bhādrapadādi* is, therefore, wholly untenable.

(3) The dates 13 and 15 indicate that the month Āśvina stood at the close and not in the beginning of the Kalacuri year. Kielhorn's final view that the Kalacuri year was *Āśvinādi* is clearly disproved by these two dates.

(4) From the date 15 it appears that the Kalacuri year commenced some time after Āśvina su. di. 15, while the dates 2 and 7 plainly indicate that the year began before Kārttika śu. di. 15. Between these two limits the only *tithi* which suggests itself for the commencement of the Kalacuri year is Kārttika śu. di. 1. This conjecture may be said to be corroborated by the date 25, though its testimony is somewhat weakened by a slight error in the specification of the weak-day.

(5) Among the later dates examined above, there are only five, viz. 1, 8, 23, 27 and 29, which fell in the dark fortnight. They work out satisfactorily only with the *pūrṇimānta* scheme of lunar months. We may, therefore, conclude that the months of the Kalacuri year ended on the full-moon day.

(6) The proportion of expired years to current ones is 24 : 5 which is in accordance with the general usage of quoting expired years, noticed in the case of other Indian eras.

The uniform agreement of these 29 later dates of the Kalacuri era clearly establishes that the era commenced on the *pūrṇimānta* Kārttika śu. di. 1 (the 6th October) in A. D. 248.

Now, this conclusion conflicts with the result already obtained from an examination of the available five early dates of the era, which contained the necessary details for computation, viz., that the era commenced on the *amānta*, Kārttika śu. di. 1 (the 25th September) in A. D. 249. It may be noted in this connection that the two types of dates do not come from the same part of

he country. The earlier dates come from Gujarat and Mahārāstra, while the later ones are obtained from North India and the Chattisgarh Division of the Central Provinces. It seems to me that the only way in which we can reconcile these two epochs of the era is to suppose that when the era was introduced by the Kalacuris in North India, its current years were erroneously supposed to be expired ones. The commencement of the era came consequently to be antedated by one year.¹ Again, though the year continued to be Kārttikādi, its months became *pūrṇimānta* in accordance with the general usage prevailing in North India.

. The Kalacuri-Cedi era, therefore, originally commenced on Kārttika śu. di. 1 (the 25th September) in A. D. 349.

The Origin of the Era

We shall next turn to the question 'what historical event does this era commemorate'? For a correct answer to this question we must take the following points into consideration—

(1) Though in some later records, the years of the era are specified as *Cedi Sainvat* or *Cedi-īśasya Sainvat* and *Kalacuri Sainvat*, it by no means follows that the era was known by either of these names from early times; for in the early records of the Traikūṭakas, Kalacuris, Gurjaras, Sendrakas and Cālukyas, the years of the era are introduced simply by the word *Sainvat*. The names *Cedi-sainvat*, *Cedi-diṣṭa* or *Cedi-īśasya Sainvat* and *Kalacuri-sainvat* occur in only eight records,² seven of which

¹ A mistake of the opposite type seems to have occurred in recording the date Śaka 1322 of No. 1127 in Bhandarkar's *List of Northern Inscriptions*. The correct date was expired Śaka 1323, but the writer seems to have taken it as current and so put down Śaka 1322 evidently as an expired year. Three instances of the same type (viz., expired Śaka years erroneously regarded as current ones) were noticed by Prof. Kielhorn during his examination of the dates of the Śaka era in inscriptions. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXV, p. 265.

² The phrase *Cedi-īśasya sañ.* occurs in the date 831 of No. 38; *Cedi-sainvat* in the dates 919 and 933 of Nos. 57 and 65, and *Cedi-diṣṭa* in the date 902 of No. 48 (which is in verse). The expression *Kalacuri-sainvatsare* (or, *Kulacuri-sainvatsare*) is noticed in the dates 893, 896, 898 and 910 of Nos. 44, 45, 46 and 52 respectively. Of these only the date 902 comes from the country to the north of the Narmada.

come from Chhattisgarh. The earliest of them belongs to the last quarter of the eleventh century A. D. The reason why this era came to be known by these names in Chhattisgarh is not far to seek. Before the advent of the Kalacuris, the general custom prevailing in Chhattisgarh as in several other parts of India was to date events in the regnal years of the ruling king.¹ When the Kalacuris established themselves in Chhattisgarh they introduced there the era which they had been using in their home-province of Dāhala for several centuries. It, therefore, came to be designated as *Kalacuri-saivat*. The other name *Cedi-saivat* or *Ced-iśasya saivat* was also appropriate; for the Imperial family to which the Tummāna branch owed allegiance was then ruling over the Cedi country. It is noteworthy in this connection that the contemporary ruler of Tripuri is invariably referred to as *Ced-iśa*, *Cedi-narendra* or *Caidya* (the lord of Cedi) in the records from Chhattisgarh.² These names of the era do not, therefore indicate that the era was started by the Kalacuris or that it originated in the Cedi country.

The other name 'Traikūṭaka' which is sometimes used to designate the era is due to a wrong interpretation of an expression occurring in the Kānheri plate dated K. 245 as already pointed out by Dr. Fleet.³

Like many other principal eras, the era of A. D. 249-50 also had no special name in the beginning. Its years were introduced by the simple word *Sam* or *Saivat*.

(2) The earliest records dated in this era come from Gujarat, Kōṅkan and Mahārāṣṭra including the districts of Nāsik and Khāndesh. No certain dates of this era come from North India until the middle of the ninth century A. D., i. e., until after its introduction in the Cedi country by the Kalacuris. We have

¹ See for instances the dates of the records of the kings of Śarabhapura and those of the Somavamsī dynasty. The only early record from Chhattisgarh which is dated in any era is the Ārang plate of Bhimasena, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IX, pp. 342 ff. It contains the date 182 of the Gupta era. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 228.

² See e. g. line 19 of No. 40 and l. 5 of Bhandarkar's list No. 421. Cunningham's view that Chhattisgarh was Eastern Cedi is erroneous.

³ *J. R. A. S.* for 1905, p. 567.

already seen that the theories that the records of Kaniska and his successors, the so-called Kusānaputras, the Maghas of Kauśāmbi and the Uccakalpas of Central India, are dated in so-called Kalacuri-Cedi era are untenable.¹ The era must, therefore, have originated to the South of the Narmadā.

These considerations point to Gujarāt, Kōṅkana and Mahārāṣṭra as the original home of the era. Let us next consider the political condition in circa A. D. 250 in this part of the country which led to its foundation.

The Purāṇas say that when the kingdom of the Āndhras has come to an end, there will be kings belonging to the lineage of their servants.² Among these latter are mentioned ten Ābhira kings who are said to have ruled for 67 years. Scholars are not unanimous as to when the kingdom of the Āndhras came to an end. The duration of the Āndhra or Sātavāhana rule is variously given by the Purāṇas - e. g., as 460 years by the *Matsya*, 411 by the *Vāyu* and 456 by the *Brahmāṇḍa*, the *Viṣṇu* and the *Bhāgavata*.³ The date of the commencement of their rule is also uncertain. Inscriptions afford, however some basis for calculation. It is well known that there was an interruption in the Sātavāhana rule over Gujarāt and Mahārāṣṭra. The Śaka satrap Bhūmaka established himself in Gujarat and Nahapāna in Mahārāṣṭra. The Sātavāhanas who were ousted from this part of the country seem to have retired to Vidarbha.⁴ They attempted to reconquer their lost territory during the reign of Gautamīputra Sātakarpi.

¹ See above, pp. 13 f.; also *Ep. Ind.* XXIII, pp. 171 ff. As for the theory that the era was started by Vamataḥṣa of the Kuṣānaputra dynasty (*Ind. Cul.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 191 ff.) it is not in the first place clear that there was such a dynasty; for the expression Kuṣānaputra occurs only in one record viz. that of Vamataḥṣa himself and may simply mean 'a scion of the Kuṣāna family'.

² Cf. 'Āndhrāṇāṃ samsthite rājyē teṣāṃ bhṛty-ānvayā nṛpāḥ | Sapt = aṭv = Āndhrā bhaviṣyanti daś = Ābhīrās = tathā nṛpāḥ || Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 45.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 43 and n. 33.

⁴ Gautamīputra calls himself *Benākāṭakasvāmī* in his Nāsik cave inscription (Lüders' *List*, No. 1125). That Benākāṭa was a district of ancient Vidarbha is shown by the Tiroḍi plates of the Vākāṭaka Pravarasena II *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 167 ff. See also *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. II, pp. 93 ff.

This Sātavāhana king is said to have exterminated the Kṣaharāta family to which Nahapāna belonged.¹ The decisive battle seems to have been fought in the eighteenth year of Gautamīputra's reign ; for soon after the victory he donated a field to the Buddhist monks living in the caves near Nāsik.² The Kṣaharāta satrap defeated by Gautamīputra is not named, but he was probably Nahapāna himself ; for we know of no successor of the latter. Besides, Gautamīputra is known to have called back and restruck Kṣatrapa coins in order to proclaim the establishment of his rule. The Jogaltembhi hoard discovered in 1906 contained hundreds of coins of this type. But among them there was not a single coin of any successor of Nahapāna which shows that Gautamīputra came immediately after Nahapāna.³

Now, the last known regnal year of Nahapāna is 46, which it seems best to refer to the Śaka era. It is thus equivalent to *circa* A. D. 124. Supposing that Nahapāna suffered a defeat in this very year, A. D. 124 becomes the 18th year of Gautamīputra's reign. Gautamīputra may, therefore, have come to the throne in *circa* A. D. 106. The Purāṇas name the successors of Gautamīputra and give their reign periods as follows :—

Gautamīputra	21 years,	<i>circa</i> A. D. 106-126
Puṣumāvi	28 „	„ „ 127-154
Sātakarṇi	29 „	„ „ 155-183
Sivaśrī Puṣumāvi	7 „	„ „ 184-190
Sivaskanda	3 „	„ „ 191-193
Yajñaśrī	29 „	„ „ 194-222
Vijaya	6 „	„ „ 223-228
Candaśrī Śāntikarna	10 „	„ „ 229-238
Pulomāvi	7 „	„ „ 239-245.

¹ See the expression 'Khakharāta-vasa-niravasesa-karasa' describing Gautamīputra in l. 6 of the Nāsik cave inscription, Lüders' *List* No. 1123 *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VIII, p. 60.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 71 ff.

³ See Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India* (Fourth Ed.) p. 415.

The recent find of potin coins at Tarhālā in the Akolā District of Berar plainly indicates that 'all these kings' continued to hold Mahārāṣṭra to the end of the Sātavāhana age. The reign-periods mentioned in the Purāṇas are not, however, absolutely trustworthy. In the first place, there are many variants and even if we take the readings supported by the best Mss., their statements are in some cases contradicted by contemporary inscriptions. The Purāṇas, for instance, assign a reign-period of 21 years only to Gautamīputra, but from a Nāsik cave inscription² he is known to have reigned for at least 24 years. There may, therefore, be similar discrepancies in other reign-periods also. Besides, it is not certain that the battle between Gautamīputra and Nahapāna was fought in the Śaka year 46 and not later. Notwithstanding these circumstances which render the accuracy of the dates doubtful, we may say that the Sātavāhanas continued to rule in Mahārāṣṭra till the middle of the 3rd century A. D. The Purāṇas say that the successors of the Āndhras (i. e., the Sātavāhanas) were the Ābhīras. And it is worthy of note that we do find an inscription of the reign of the Ābhīra king Īśvarasena, the son of the Ābhīra Śivadatta at Nāsik.³ Its characters and the predominance of Sanskrit employed in it suggest that Īśvarasena flourished later than the Sātavāhanas, all of whose records are in Prakrit. Īśvarasena's father Śivadatta bears no princely titles, which indicates that Īśvarasena was the founder of the Ābhīra dynasty. Perhaps he was previously a military officer of the Sātavāhanas.⁴ From

¹ The hoard contained coins of Sātakarṇi (probably identical with Gautamīputra), Puṣumāvi, Sivaśrī-Puṣumāvi, Śkanda (probably identical with Sivaskanda), Yajñaśrī, Vijaya and Karṇa (probably the same as Candāśrī-Sāntikarṇa) and Puṣubhāmavi (probably identical with Puṣumāvi IV). Some of the coins with the legends *Sātakarṇisa* can, on palaeographic grounds, be referred to a Sātakarṇi later than Gautamīputra. They were probably issued by the (Vāsiṣṭhiputra) Sātakarṇi who according to a Ms. of the *Vāyupurāṇa* succeeded Puṣumāvi and ruled for 29 years. See Pargiter's *Dynasties* etc. p. 42.

² *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VIII, p. 73.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 83.

⁴ It may be noted that the Purāṇas call the Ābhīras Āndhrabhṛtyas or Servants of the Āndhras (i. e., of the Sātavāhanas).

the Gūṇḍa inscription¹ we know of another Ābhīra Śenāpati named Rudrabhūti, the son of the Commander Bāhaka who was in the service of the Western Kṣatrapa Rudrasimha in A. D. 181. Īśvarasena may have held a similar office under the last Sātavāhana king Pulomāvi. In that case his military power and the influence he commanded must have helped him in usurping the throne after Pulomāvi.

Several scholars identify this Īśvarasena with Īśvaradatta, whose silver coins dated in the first and second regnal year have been discovered at several places in Kathiawad and Southern Rajputana. About the exact period in which he flourished, there has however, been a great divergence of opinion.² Pandit Bhagwanlal placed him in the gap of the years 171-176 for which no coins of the Western Kṣatrapas were available in his time. Later on Prof. Rapson showed that the gap did not exist, as he discovered coins of the dates from 171 to 176. Rapson himself assigned him to the gap between the years 158 and 161, but Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar pointed out that that gap too was virtually non-existent, as he found a coin dated 160 in the Sarvāpīā hoard. Īśvaradatta may, of course, have been an Ābhīra, though his coins do not say so explicitly;³ for the Nāsik inscription shows that the Ābhīras bore names ending in *datta* as well as *senā*. But it is doubtful if he was identical with Īśvarasena, the founder of the Ābhīra dynasty, for his coins are dated only in the first and second years of his reign and are found only in Kathiawad⁴ and Southern Rajputānā. This plainly indicates that he had a meteoric rise in that part of the country, but was promptly subdued by the Western Kṣatrapas. If he later on retired to Mahārāṣṭra and established himself there, his coins dated in subsequent years should have been found there, for the Nāsik inscription shows that Īśvarasena continued to hold Mahārāṣṭra at least till the ninth regnal year.

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X, p. 157; *J. R. A. S.* for 1890, p. 650.

² See above, pp. 7, 11 f.

³ The legend on his coins is *Rājño Mahā-Kṣatrapasa Īśvaradattasa var-ḡe prathame* (or, *dviṭīye*).

⁴ *Bom. Gaz.* Vol. XVI, p. 624. Sarvāpīā where also the coins of Īśvaradatta were found is in the Bānswārā state in Rajputana. The Sonpur (Chhindwara District C. P.) hoard apparently did not contain any coins of Īśvaradatta. *J. R. A. S. B.* Vol. III, *Num. Suppl.* pp. 95 ff.

Prof. Rapson who placed Īśvaradatta in the gap of Śaka 159-160 suggested that the era of A. D. 249-50 might have marked the consolidation of the Ābhīra kingdom during one of the successors of Īśvaradatta, rather than its first beginnings.¹ But the history of other Indian eras shows that they generally originated in an extension of regnal dates. The Kusān era, for instance owed its use to the continuation of Kaniska's regnal dates by his successors Vāsiṣka, Huviska, Kaniska II and Vāsudeva. The same may have happened in the case of the era of A. D. 249-50. It seems to have commenced with the reign of the Ābhīra, Īśvarasena and was apparently continued by his successors, of whom as many as nine reigned according to the Purāṇas. The Purāṇas do not unfortunately name these Ābhīra kings,² but they state that their rule lasted for 67 years. Judging by the extent of the use of their era, their kingdom seems to have comprised Gujarat, Kōṅkan and Mahārāṣṭra including the districts of Nāsik and Khandesh.

It has been suggested that the Ābhīras and the Traikūṭakas were identical, Ābhīra being a racial and Traikūṭaka a regional name. The names of the princes belonging to these two dynasties end in either *dattu* or *sena* which lends colour to the identification. But the Candravalli inscription of the Kadamba king Mayūraśarman³ which may be referred to the fourth century A. D. mentions the Ābhīras as separate from the Traikūṭakas. This suggests that the two dynasties, though contemporary, were not identical. The Ābhīras, who probably had their stronghold in Khandesh⁴ held imperial sway, while the Traikūṭakas who rose to power in the Nāsik District may have been a feudatory family owning allegiance to the Ābhīras. As stated before, the Purāṇas assign a period of only 67 years to the reign of ten Ābhīra kings. This is abnormally low. It is also inadequate for the establishment of the Ābhīra era in Western India. Perhaps the expression

¹ Rapson, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, Introd. p. clxii.

² Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* (V. 4) mentions an Ābhīra king Koṭṭarāja. He may have been one of the successors of Īśvarasena.

³ *An Rep., Mysore Arch. Surv.* for 1929, p. 50.

⁴ Ābhīra kings were ruling at Bhambhāgiri (Bhāmer in the Pimpalner Taluka of West Khandesh) till the time of the Later Yādava king Siṃhapa. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, p. 263.

sapta-śaṣṭi śatān=īlu,¹ stating the period of Ābhīra rule, which occurs in a manuscript of the *Vāyupurāṇa*, is a mistake for *sapta-śaṣṭim śatān=c=ēha*. In that case the Ābhīra rule may have lasted for 167 years or till A. D. 416. After the fall of the Ābhīra dynasty the Traikūṭakas attained imperial position. *Mahārāja* Indradatta, the first known Traikūṭaka king, seems to have flourished in the period *circa* A. D. 415-440.² He and his successors continued the era started by the Ābhīra Īśvarasena as it had, by that time, become 'the habitual and well-established reckoning of the country.' The history of the other Indian eras shows that once an era becomes current in a part of the country and the people become accustomed to it, it continues to be used long after the founder or his family has ceased to rule. The era of Harṣa, for instance, continued to be used long after him though his empire crumbled to pieces almost immediately after his death. It is not, therefore, surprising that the era of the Ābhīras also remained current in Gujarat, Kōṅkaṇ and Mahārāṣṭra long after the downfall of the Ābhīra dynasty.

Locality of the Era

The earliest date of the era is K. 9 which belongs to the reign of its founder, the Ābhīra king Īśvarasena. The next three dates, viz., 67, 107 and 117 come from Khandesh and are furnished by the grants of a feudatory family which plainly owed allegiance to the contemporary Ābhīra Emperors. After these, we have the date 167 from the Barwāni State, clearly showing that the Ābhīra Empire had extended to the Narmadā in the North. The three following dates, K. 207, K. 241 and K. 245 belong to the Traikūṭakas who succeeded the Ābhīras in Gujarat, Kōṅkaṇ and the Nasik District. Following upon these is the date K. 292 of No. 9. It belongs to the reign of *Mahārāja* Saṃgamasimha who seems to have occupied Central Gujarat after the fall of the Traikūṭakas.

Of the Kalacuris of Māhīsmatī who succeeded the Traikūṭakas in Gujarat, Kōṅkaṇ and Mahārāṣṭra we have the next three dates viz., K. 347, 360 and 361 of Nos. 10-12, two of which belong to

¹ Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 46, n. 37.

² The Pārḍi plates of his son Dauraseṇa are dated K. 207 (A. D. 456-57).

Gujarat and one to the Nāsik District of Mahārāṣṭra. The inscriptions of the Gurjara kings who held Gujarat to the north of the Kim river after the fall of the Kalacuris, furnish the next seven dates, viz. K. 380, 385, 391, 392 (in two grants), 456, 460, 486 (in two grants) of Nos. 13-17, 23, 24, 26 and 27. Contemporaneously with these we have two dates viz. K. 404 and 406 of Nos. 18 and 19, belonging to the Sendrakas who held Southern Gujarat and Khandesh as feudatories of the Western Cālukyas, and four more viz. K. 421, 436, 443 and 490 of Nos. 20-22 and 28, furnished by the records of a feudatory Cālukya family which was at first ruling over the Nasik District, but later on supplanted the Sendrakas in Southern Gujarat. Finally, the Hariścandriyas whom the Western Cālukyas placed in charge of Koṅkan and the Nasik District furnish only one date viz. K. 461 of No. 25.

After K. 461 (A. D. 709-10) we have no dates of this era from Koṅkan and Mahārāṣṭra. Even before this date we find that the era was yielding ground to its rival, the Śaka era. The Western Cālukyas and their feudatories the Sendrakas who came from the Kanarese country were using the Śaka era in their home province. When they conquered and established themselves in Gujarāt and Mahārāṣṭra they continued to use the Kalacuri era evidently because it had become the habitual reckoning of that part of the country, but they gradually introduced the Śaka era which was current in their home province. The Sendraka prince Allaśakti, for instance, issued two charters in A. D. 656. Both of them were granted in Gujarat, but while one of them which records the gifts of a village in Gujarat is dated in the year 406 of the Kalacuri era, the other which registers the donation of another village situated in Khandesh bears the date 577 of the Śaka era.¹ Allaśakti's son Jayaśakti also who was ruling over Khandesh dates his Munākhede plates in the Śaka era.² The Gujarat branch of the Cālukyas generally used the Kalacuri era in dating their land grants in Gujarat. But Maṅgalarāja, who succeeded Dharāśraya-Jayasimha is known to have issued a charter dated

¹ See the Nāgad plates, Śaka 577, edited by G. H. Khare in the *Samśodhaka* (Dhulia) Vol. VIII.

² They are dated in Śaka 602. See *An. Rep. B. I. S. M.* for S. 1834, pp. 169-171.

in the year 653 of the Śaka era.¹ The charter is not now forthcoming, but in view of what has been said above it may be conjectured that it recorded the grant of land in Khandesh where the Śaka era superseded the Kalacuri reckoning.

In North Konkan, Nāsik District and Gujarat the Kalacuri era lingered a little longer. The latest date of that era from Konkan and Nāsik District is K. 461 (A. D. 710-11). The Śaka era which had already penetrated in Southern Mahārāṣṭra before A. D. 687, the date of the Jejuri plates of Vinayāditya,² soon ousted the Kalacuri era from Northern Mahārāṣṭra also. In Gujarat the era was current for at least 30 years more till A. D. 740, for the Navsāri grant of Pulakeśi-Avanijanāśraya is dated K. 490 (A. D. 740). After Pulakeśi's death, the country to the north of the Kim was occupied by the Cāhamānas who, coming as they did from the north, had a predilection for the Vikrama era. Their Hansot grant found in Gujarat is dated V. 814 (A. D. 756).³ Southern Gujarat was held by a feudatory Rāṣṭrakūṭa family which for the first time introduced the Śaka era in that part of the country. Their earliest grant from Gujarat is dated Śaka 679, (A. D. 757).⁴ After the middle of the 8th century A. D. we have no date of the Kalacuri era from the Konkan, Gujarāt and Mahārāṣṭra, the provinces where it had originated, five centuries before.

When the Kalacuris migrated to Central India and shifted their capitals to Kālañjar and Tripuri they took with them the era which they had habitually used in their earlier kingdom and made it current throughout their dominions.⁵ Unfortunately the earliest records of this era found at Saugar and Choṭi-Deori are undated. The first date of the Kalacuri era obtained from North India is K. 593 (A. D. 941-42) of No. 29, furnished by a record from Kārītalai in the Jubbulpore District. It is followed by twenty-one dates ranging from K. 724 to K. 963. Most of

¹ *J. Bom. Br. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 5.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 63 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, p. 197.

⁴ See the Antreli-Charoli plates of Karka II, Ś. 679, *J. Bom. Br. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 106.

⁵ The branch of the Kalacuris which established itself in the country of Sarayupāra does not, however, appear to have used the Kalacuri era.

them are from the inscriptions of the Imperial Kalacuri dynasty of Tripuri. Among these, seven dates viz. K. 724, 772, 789, 800, 812, 823 (?) and 961 (or 962) of Nos. 30-32, 34, 36, 37 and 69 come from the Rewah State: two dates viz. K. 909 of No. 51 and K. 958 of No. 68 are furnished by the neighbouring states of Nagod and Panna; two more dates viz. K. 793 of No. 33 and K. 810 of No. 35 are obtained from the United Provinces and six viz. 902, 907, 918, 926 and 928 (two dates) of Nos. 48, 50, 55, 61-63 are supplied by the Jubbulpur, Damoh and Saugor districts of the Central Provinces. Two dates viz. K. 926 of No. 60 and K. 944 of No. 67 belong to the feudatories of the Kalacuries viz. Kirti-varman and Malayasimha who were holding parts of the Rewah State. The territory round Rewah passed into the possession of the Candella Trailokyamalla (or Trailokyavarman) in circa K. 962. The Candellas were using the Vikrama era in their own records but in Dhureti plates, which record a transaction during Trailokyamalla's reign, the Kalacuri, not the Vikrama, era is used for the purpose of dating.

K. 963 (A. D. 1212) is the last date of the Kalacuri era which comes from North India. With the contraction of Kalacuri power during the reigns of the weak successors of Yasahkarna, the era gradually lost ground to its rival viz. the Vikrama Samvat which was current in the adjoining provinces ruled by the Paramāras, Candellas and Gāhadavālas. The gradual encroachment made by the Vikrama era is illustrated by two dates V. 1216 (A. D. 1159) of Bhandarkar's List, No. 308 and V. 1253 (A. D. 1195) of List, No. 432. Both of them come from the northern parts of the Rewah State and mention the contemporary Kalacuri suzerains Narasimha and Vijayasimha. But instead of being recorded in the era of the Imperial family, they refer themselves to the Vikrama Samvat. With the downfall of the Kalacuris of Tripuri the era vanished from North India.

As stated above, the earlier North-Indian dates of the era are not forthcoming, but speaking generally, in the period A. D. 750 to 1210 the era was current sometime or other in that portion of India which would be bounded by straight lines drawn from Saugor to Allahabad, then to Benares, from there through

Bandhogarh to the Narmadā and then along the bank of the river to the western boundary of the Jubbulpore District.

When a branch of the Kalacuri family established itself at Tummāpa towards the close of the ninth century A.D., it introduced the era in Dakṣiṇa Kosala. But here too as in the other two parts of India, the earlier dates of the era are not available. The first date which comes from Chattisgarh is K. 831 (A. D. 1079) of No. 38. This is followed by twenty-two other dates ranging from K. 840 to K. 969. They are furnished by the inscriptions of the Kalacuris of Ratanpur and their feudatories, ruling in Chattisgarh including the states of Kawardhā, and Kānker. Down to A. D. 1220 the era was current in that portion of South India which stretched from the eastern boundaries of the Bālāghāt, Bhaṇḍārā and Chāndā District in the West to those of the Raigarh and Sāraṅgarh States in the east and from the Narmadā in the north to the northern limit of the Bastar State in the South.¹ After A. D. 1220, the era began to lose ground in this part of the country also. The later records of the Kalacuris themselves came to be dated in the Vikrama Saṁvat. The earliest of such dates is V. 1458 (A.D. 1402) of Bhandarkar's List, No. 737 which belongs to the reign of the later Kalacuri king Brahmadeva who ruled at Raipur and Khalvāṭikā (modern Khalāri) in the Raipur District. As the memory of the Kalacuri era soon faded from the public mind, it was found necessary to change the Kalacuri date 900 of Bhandarkar's list No. 421 into 1207 of Vikrama Saṁvat.²

¹ Two copper-plate inscriptions dated in the years 260 and 263 of an unspecified era have been found at Soro in the Balasore and Patiakellā in the Cuttock District of Orissa respectively (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXII, pp. 197 ff and Vol. IX, pp. 287 ff.) They refer themselves to the reign of Mahārāja Śambhuyāśas, the ruler of Tosali. These dates have been referred to the Kalacuri era on the evidence of palaeography. Apart from these doubtful cases, no records of this era have been found in Orissa. On the other hand, the Āraṅg plates of Bhīmasena dated in the year 182 and the Ganjām plates of Śaśāṅka dated in the year 300 expressly refer themselves to the Gupta era, which clearly shows that the Gupta era was current in Chhattisgarh and Ganjām in the sixth and seventh centuries A. D. As for the early forms of test letters noticed in the aforementioned records, they can be satisfactorily accounted for as these records fall in the period G. E. 181-300 if their dates are referred to the Gupta era.

² Originally the date inscribed at the end of this record was (K.) 900, but it was subsequently changed to V. 1207.

Some Details about the Calculated Dates

Jovian years—Only two Kalacuri dates viz. K. 800 of No. 34 and K. 966 of No. 73 cite Jupiter's years. The first of these works out regularly according to the northern luni-solar system; for the cyclic year Khara was current during the Kalacuri year 800. The second date has quoted the cyclic year Īśvara incorrectly, for according to the mean-sign system, the Jovian year had ended more than a year before the commencement of the given Kalacuri year.

Intercalary months—Only one date, K. 958 of No. 68 cites an intercalary month viz. Āṣāḍha which is specified as *prathamā* Āṣāḍha. It works out quite regularly. In two other cases also, viz. K. 909 of No. 51 and K. 928 of No. 63 the month Śrāvaṇa was intercalary, though it is not so specified. Prof. Kielhorn has noticed several similar cases of the Vikrama and Śaka dates, in which the months were intercalary though they were not so indicated by the wording of the dates.¹

Irregular tithis—The only cases of irregular *tithis* noticed among the dates of the Kalacuri era which contain the necessary details for verification are four viz. K. 772 of No. 31, K. 823 of No. 37, K. 963 of No. 70 and K. 965 of No. 72. The first of these shows deviation of only one day in the specification of the week-day which is not rare in inscriptional dates. In the second case, the numerals of the date have been wrongly written as appears plain from other evidence. The irregularities in the remaining two cases can be clearly attributed to the carelessness of the scribe. Besides these, there is one more date, viz. K. 1000 of No. 75 in which the mistake is of the copyist who transcribed the record on the present plates from others which had probably suffered damage by corrosion.

Current tithis—In eight dates (viz. K. 436 of No. 21, K. 460 of No. 24, K. 486 of No. 27, K. 890 of No. 43, K. 905 of No. 49, K. 907 of No. 50, K. 926 of No. 61 and K. 965 of No. 71) the *tithi* is joined with the week-day on which it commenced and

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 411; Vol. XXV, p. 271.

not, as is usual, with the weak-day on which it ended. In the first two of these cases the reason is obvious; for they are cases of Samkrāntis which occurred during the particular *tithis*, though the latter were not current at sunrise. The third case is similar to that of Śaka 996 (in the Bijāpur stone inscription of the Western Cālukya Someśvara II) which Prof. Kielhorn has taken to be regular.¹ In the two cases K. 905 and 907 the *tithis* which commenced within about two hours after mean sunrise have been cited probably because they were current almost throughout the day. The seventh case is of a *śrāddha-tithi* and it is well-known that for the performance of a *śrāddha* the particular *tithi* is required to be current in the afternoon. In the two cases of K. 890 and K. 965 also, the *tithi* may have been cited because it was current at the time of the transaction.

Special names of tithis—The third *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Vaiśākha is called *akṣaya-trītiya* in the date K. 905 of No. 49. Several grants dated in this era were made on the full-moon *tithi* of Kārttika, but only in two records (viz. Nos. 9 and 28) the *tithi* is called *Mahā-Kārttikī*. The eighth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Māgha is called *rathāṣṭamī* in No. 45. This *tithi* goes now by the name of *Bhīṣmāṣṭamī*, the preceding *tithi* being called *ratha-saptamī*. No. 64 mentions a *yugādi* as a holy *tithi* on which Gosaladevi, the mother of the king Vijayasimha bathed in the Narmadā, but it is not further specified.

Nakṣatras—No early record of the era mentions any *nakṣatra*. The first inscription in which a *nakṣatra* is referred to is No. 42. It states that the moon was in conjunction with the *nakṣatra* Rohiṇī at the time of her eclipse on the Kārttika-paurṇimā in K. 880. *Nakṣatras* are correctly quoted in three other records, viz., Mrga in the date K. 965 of No. 71, Hasta in K. 928 of No. 63 and Citrā in K. 966 of No. 73. There is no mention of Karanās, Yogas or Lagnas anywhere in the records of this era.

Eclipses—Lunar eclipses are quoted in six dates viz. K. 456 of No. 23; K. 880 of No. 42, K. 890 of No. 43, K. 900 of No. 47, K. 918 of No. 55 and K. 969 of No. 74. Of these, the lunar eclipse of K. 880 is noteworthy; for it was predicted by an astrologer

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXV, p. 294.

in opposition to others who held a divergent opinion at the court of Ratnadeva II. When his prediction came true, he was rewarded with the grant of a village. Solar eclipses are cited only in two dates viz. K. 404 of No. 18 and K. 966 of No. 73. All these eclipses took place on the days of the dates and were visible in India.

Samkrāntis—Three early dates, viz., K. 436 of No. 21, K. 460 of No. 24 and K. 486 of No. 26, mention *Samkrāntis*. The first of these, the Viṣuva or Meṣa-samkrānti, took place about seven hours before the commencement of the *tithi* with which it is coupled.¹ The other two *Samkrāntis* viz. the Tulā and the Karkataka, occurred during the respective *tithis*. Among the later dates only two viz. K. 823 of No. 37 and K. 965 of No. 72 record grants made on the occasion of *Samkrāntis*. In the first of these, samkrānti is not specified, but as it is said to have occurred on the fourteenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Phālguna it must have been Mīna. This samkrānti does not work out regularly. There is apparently some mistake in the numerals of the year which should be 827.² The other *Samkrānti* was Makara, but it is not coupled with any *tithi* or week-day and therefore does not admit of verification.³

¹ For a similar case see the date Ś. 996. Ind. Ant. Vol. XXIII, p. 115.

² See *Woolner Commemoration Volume*, p. 168.

³ The Jubbulpur copper-plate inscription of Yaśaḥkarṇa (Bhandarkar's List No. 1228) also recorded a grant made on the occasion of Uttarāyaṇa-Samkrānti, but the details of the date, which occurred on the second plate now lost, are uncertain. For a conjectural restoration of it, see *ibid.*, p. 163.

APPENDIX

List* of Inscriptions dated according to the Kalacuri-Cedi Era.

No. 1 - K. 9 - Nasik Inscription of the reign of Īśvarāsena. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 88 f.)

No. 2 - K. 67 - Indore¹ (?) Plate of Svāmidāsa. (*List*,² No. 1259; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 289 f.; correction by Mirashi, *A.B.O.R.I.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 159 f.)

No. 3 - K. 107 - Indore (?) Plate of Bhulunda. *List*, No. 1266; *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XV, pp. 291 f.; correction by Mirashi, *A.B.O.R.I.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 159 f.)

No. 4 - K. 117 - Sirpur Plate of Rudradāsa (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 98 f.; correction by Mirashi, *A.B.O.R.I.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 159 f.)

No. 5 - K. 167 - Barwani Plate of Subandhu (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 261 f.; correction by Mirashi. *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XXI pp. 79 f.)

No. 6. - K. 207³ - Pardi Plates of Dahrasena. (*List*, No. 1199; *Ep Ind.*, Vol. X, p. 53.)

No. 7 - K. 241 - Surat Plates of Vyāghrasena (*List*, No. 1200; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, pp. 220 f.)

No. 8 - K. 245 - Kanheri Plate of the time of the Traikūṭakas (*List*, No. 1202, *Cave Temples of Western India*, p. 58).

* This List contains all inscriptions dated in the Kalacuri-Cedi Era discovered up-to-date. Spurious records have been omitted. Only the latest editions of published inscriptions have been mentioned. For the previous editions and other details of some of the records, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India* may be referred to.

¹ This and the next plate were found somewhere in Khandesh as shown by me. *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 159 f. For K. 102, see above, p. 17, n. 3.

² The references are to Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, published as an Appendix to *Ep. Ind.*, Vols. XIX-XXIII.

³ The dates ranging from K. 174 to K. 214 (*List* Nos. 1194-1198, 1201) occurring in the records of the Uccakalpa kings must be referred to the Gupta Era as shown by me. *Ep Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 171 f.

No. 9 - K. 292 - Sunao Kala Plates of Saṃgamasimha. (*List*, No. 1204 ; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, pp. 74 f.)

No. 10 - K. 347¹ - Abhona Plates of Saṃakaraṅga. (*List*, No. 1206 ; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 297 f.)

No. 11 - K. 360 - Vadner Plates of Buddharāja. (*List*, No. 1267 ; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, pp. 33f.)

No. 12 - K. 361 - Sarsavni Plates of Buddharāja. (*List*, No. 1208 ; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 298 f.)

No. 13 - K. 380 - Kaira Plates of Dadda II. (*List*, No. 1209 ; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 88 f.)

No. 14 - K. 385 - Kaira Plates of Dadda II. (*List*, No. 1210 ; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 88 f.)

No. 15 - K. 391 - An Odd Sankheda Plate of Raṇagraha (*List*, No. 1211 ; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 21.)

No. 16 - K. 392 - Sankheda Plates (First Set) of Dadda II, *List*, No. 1212 ; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V. pp. 39 f.)

No. 17 - K. 392 - Sankheda Plates (Second Set) of Dadda II, (*List*, No. 1213 ; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V. pp. 39 f.)

No. 18 - K. 404² - Kasare Plates of Allaśakti. (*Bhārata Itihāsa Saṃśodhaka Maṇḍala Quarterly*, Vol. XX, Nos. IV and V and Vol. XXI, No. 2.)

No. 19 - K. 406 - Bagumra Plates of Allaśakti. (*List*, No. 1215 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 267 f.)

No. 20 - K. 421 - Navasari Plates of Yuvarāja Śryāśraya Śīlāditya. (*List*, No. 1216 ; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 232 f.)

No. 21 - K. 436 - Nasik Plates of Dharāśraya-Jayasimha. (*Sources of the Mediaeval History of the Deccan*, Vol. I, pp. 8 f. ; date read by Mirashi, *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XX, p. 354.)

¹ The date K. 346 (*List*, No. 1205) which occurs in a grant of Taralaśvāmin (vide *Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State*, Vol. I, pp. 4 f.) is omitted here as the grant is spurious. See my article on it in the *Gangannatha Jha Research Institute Journal*, Vol. I, pp. 389 f.

² The date K. 394 of the Kaira plates of Vijayarāja (*List*, No. 1214) is omitted here as the plates are probably spurious. See remarks of Jackson in *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. i, p. 111.

No. 22 - K. 443 - Surat Plates of Yuvarāja Śryāśraya Śilāditya. (*List*, No. 1217; *Vienna Oriental Congress*, Arian Section, pp. 225 f.)

No. 23 - K. 456 - Nausari Plates of Jayabhata III. (*List*, No. 1218; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 77 f.)

No. 24 - K. 460 - Anjaneri Plates of Jayabhata III. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 292 f.)

No. 25 - K. 461 - Anjaneri Plates of Bhogaśakti. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 225 f.)

No. 26 - K. 486 - Kavi Second Plate of Jayabhata IV. (*List*, No. 1219. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 113 f.)

No. 27 - K. 486 - Prince of Wales Museum Plates of Jayabhata IV. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 147 f.)

No. 28 - K. 490 - Nausari Plates of Pulakesirāja. (*List*, No. 1220. *Vienna Oriental Congress*, Arian Section, p. 230).

No. 29 - K. 593 - Karitalai Stone Inscription of Lakṣmanarāja I. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 255 f.)

No. 30 - K. 724 - Chandrehe Stone Inscription of Prabodhasiva. (*List*, No. 1221; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 148 f.)

No. 31 - K. 772 - Makundapur Stone Inscription of Gāṅgeyadeva. (From an impression kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India; see also *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 118).

No. 32 - K. 789 (?) Piawan Rock Inscription of Gāṅgeyadeva. (*List*, No. 1222. Cunuingham, *A. S. E.*, Vol. XXI, p. 113.)

No. 33 - K. 793 - Benares Plates of Karṇa (*List*, No. 1223; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, pp. 305 f.)

No. 34 - K. 800 - Rewah Stone Inscription of Karṇa. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 101 f.)

No. 35 - K. 810 - Sarnath Stone Inscription of Karṇa. (*List*, No. 1225; *An. Rep. A. S. I.*, for 1906-07, pp. 100 f.)

No. 36 - K. 812 - Rewah Stone Inscription of Karṇa. (*List*, No. 1226; *P. R. A. S. W. C.* for 1920-21, pp. 52 f.; *Haihayas of Tripuri and Their Monuments*, pp. 130 f.)

No. 37 - K. 829¹ - Khairha Plates of Yaśaḥkarṇa. (*List*, No. 1227 ; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, pp. 210 f.).

No. 38 - K. 831 - Amoda Plates of Pr̥thvīdeva I. (*List*, No. 2031 ; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 78 f.).

No. 39 - K. 840 - Chhapri Statue Inscription of Gopāladeva. (*List*, No. 1229 ; Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. XVII, p. 35).

No. 40 - K. 866 - Ratanpur Stone Inscription of Jājalladeva I. (*List*, No. 1230 ; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 34 f.).

No. 41 - K. 878 - Sheorinarayan Plates of Ratnadeva II. (*Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. IV, pp. 31 f.).

No. 42 - K. 880 - Sarkho Plates of Ratnadeva II. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 159 f.).

No. 43 - K. 890 - Daikoni Plates of Pr̥thvīdeva II. (From an impression kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India).

No. 44 - K. 893 - Kugda Stone Inscription of Pr̥thvīdeva (*List*, No. 1231 ; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 84).

No. 45 - K. 896 - Rajim Stone Inscription of Jagapāla. (*List*, No. 1232 ; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 139 f.).

No. 46 - K. 898 - Sheorinarayan Statue Inscription. (*List*, No. 1233 ; Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. IX, p. 86 ; Bhandarkar *P. R. A. S. W. C.* for 1903-04, p. 53 ; Kielhorn, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 130).

No. 47 - K. 900 - Amoda Plates (First Set) of Pr̥thvīdeva II. (*List*, No. 1234 ; *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. I, pp. 409).

No. 48 - K. 902 - Tewar Stone Inscription of Gayākarṇa (*List*, No. 1235 ; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 210 f.).

No. 49 - K. 905 - Amoda Plates (Second Set) of Pr̥thvīdeva II. (*List*, No. 1236 ; *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. I, pp. 412).

No. 50 - K. 907 - Bhera-Ghat Stone Inscription of Alhaṇadevi. (*List*, No. 1237 ; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, pp. 10 f.).

No. 51 - K. 909 - Lal-Pahad Rock Inscription of Narasiṁhadeva. (*List*, No. 1238 ; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 212).

¹ The date K. 829 (*List*, No. 1228) which is supposed to occur in a grant of Yaśaḥkarṇa is suspicious as shown by me. See Woolner *Commemoration Volume*,* pp. 168 f).

No. 52 - K. 910 - Ratanpur Stone Inscription of Pr̥thvīdeva II. (*List*, No. 1239 ; Cunningham, *A. S. R.* Vol. XVII, pl. xx).

No. 53 - K. 910¹ - Boria Statue Inscription of the Jasarāja-deva. (*List*, No. 1212 ; Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. XVII, p. 446).

No. 54 - K. 915 - Ratanpur Stone Inscription of Pr̥thvīdeva II. (*List*, No. 1240 ; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 33).

No. 55 - K. 918 - Jubbulpur Plates of Jayasimha. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 91 f.).

No. 56 - K. 919 -² Mallar stone Inscription of Jājalladeva II. (*List*, No. 1241 ; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 40 f.).

No. 57 - K. 919 - Sheorinarayan Stone Inscription of Jājalladeva II. (*List*, No. 1242 ; Bhandarkar, *P. R. A. S. W. C.* for 1903-04, pp. 52 f.).

No. 58 - K. 91 [9]³ - Amoda Plates of Jājalladeva II. (*List*, No. 2032 , *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 211 f.).

No. 59 - K. 922 - Amarakantak Statue Inscription. (*List*, No. 1243 ; Banerji, *P. R. A. S. W. C.* for 1920-21, p. 55.).

No. 60 - K. 926 - Rewah Plate of Kirtivarman. (*List*, No. 1244 ; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 226 f.).

No. 61 - K. 926 - Jubbulpur stone Inscription of Jayasimha. (*List*, No. 1245 ; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 60, n. 4.).

No. 62 - K. 928 - Bhera-Ghat Stone Inscription. (*List*, No. 1246 ; Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. IX, p. 111.).

No. 63 - K. 928 - Tewar Stone Inscription of Jayasimha. (*List*, No. 1247 ; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 18.).

No. 64 - K. 932 - Kumbhi Plates of Vijayasimha. (*List*, No. 1248 ; *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 16 f.).

No. 65 - K. 933 - Kharod Stone Inscription of Ratnadeva III. (*List*, No. 1249 ; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 159 f.).

¹ Bhandarkar gives the date as 945, but, from the impressions it appears that Cunningham's original reading 910 is the correct one.

² Rai Bahadur Hiralal who edited this inscription conjectured the unit figure to be 2, but the conjecture is incorrect as in K. 912 Pr̥thvīdeva II, not Jājalladeva II, was reigning. See above No. 52.

No. 66 - K. 994 - Sahaspur Image Inscription of Yaśorāja. (*List*, No. 1250 ; Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 43 f.). •

No. 67 - K. 944 - Rewah Stone Inscription of Malayasimha. (*List*, No. 1251 and 2033 ; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 296 f.).

No. 68 - K. 958¹ - Besant Stone Inscription. (*List*, No. 1253 ; Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. XXI, p. 102).

No. 69 - K. 96(x)² - Rewah Stone Inscription of Vijayasimha. (*An. Rep. A. S. I.* for 1935-36, pp. 89 f.).

No. 70 - K. 963 - Dhureti Plates of Trailokyamalla. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 1 f.).

No. 71 - K. 965 - Tahankapar Plates of Pamparājadeva. (*List*, No. 1254 ; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 129 f.).

No. 72 - K. 965 - Pendrabandh Plates of Pratāpamalla. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 1 f.).

No. 73 - K. 966 - Tahankapar Plates of Pamparājadeva. (*List*, No. 1255 ; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 129).

No. 74 - K. 969 - Bilaigarh Plates of Pratāpamalla. (From an impression kindly supplied by the Govt. Epigraphist for India).

No. 75 - K. 1000 (for K. 900) - Ghotia Plates of Prthivideva II. (*List*, No. 1256 ; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LIV, pp. 44 f. ; correction of the date in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, p. 163, n. 2).

¹ For K. 945, (*List*, No. 1252), see above, n. 8.

² The unit figure which is now illegible may have been either 1 or 2 as in K. 963 Vijayasimha was vanquished and his territory was occupied by the Candella Trailokyamalla. See No. 70.

STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF INDIAN PLANTS—
SOME NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF CANAKA
(CICER ARIETINUM)—BETWEEN

500 B. C. AND 1820

BY

P. K. GODE

In my paper ¹ on the "History of Canaka (gram) as food for Horses" I suggested that the practice of feeding the horses with *Canaka* (= *C*) is later than its use for human consumption at least in India. Though *C* as *horse-gram*² for Indian horses has a history of about 1000 years as proved by me it appears to have been used in India first by men and not by horses. From Vedic times onwards the *Yava* (= *Y*) was prominent in the regimen of men first and later of horses. In fact Kautilya in his *Arathaśāstra* has included *Y* in the regimen of horses but there is no reference to *C* in this work either for human or animal consumption, so far as my study goes. Accordingly Hemacandra in his *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* (c. A. D. 1140) calls *Y* as *Haya-priya* or the favourite of horses. He also mentions *C* but does not call it *haya-priya* or by any such adjective. In the two treatises on horses by Jayadatta and Nakula viz. (1) *Āśvavaidyaka* and *Āśva-cikitsita* respectively, which are not much removed from Hemacandra in their chronology, we are told that *Y* is the best food for horses but in case *Y* is not available *C* is the second best food for them. This statement clearly shows the transitional stage of Indian horse-regimen in which we note the regard for *Y* as the

¹ See pp. 89-105 of *Annals* (B. O. R. Institute, 1945 Vol. XXVI).

² Edward Moor in his *Narrative* etc. London, 1794 makes some interesting remarks on the Mahrattas as horsemen and farriers—(pp. 89-95). He says that the Mahrattas breed a great many horses and procure others from Arabia, Persia, Candahār and the northern parts of Hindustan. Speaking of horse-food he states:—

"Gram and Coolty are the grain on which horses are fed throughout the Maratha Country" (p. 96).

great horse-food of antiquity. Though much revered by Jayadatta and Nakula it was falling into back-ground and *C* had come to the fore and was probably produced in plenty to take its honoured place in the regimen of Indian horses, perhaps after the Muslim advent in India say about A. D. 700.

I propose in this paper to put on record some references to *C* as food for men. These references will also show the antiquity of *C* on Indian soil for about 2000 years as vouched by the evidence of Sanskrit and non-Sanskrit sources.

(1) The lexicon *Amarakośa* refers to *C* as follows :—

“चणको हरिमन्थकः ॥ १८ ॥” — (Kāṇḍa II-वैश्यवर्ग see p. 354 of N. S. Press Edition, Bombay, 1905)

Bhānuji Dikṣita comments¹ on the above as follows :—

“इ ‘चणकस्य’” i. e. चणक and हरिमन्थक are synonyms. The date of the *Amarakośa* lies between say A. D. 500 and 800.

(2) In the *Carakasamhitā*, one of the earliest medical texts we get some references² to *C*. In the शमीधान्य वर्ग Caraka gives the properties of *C* as follows :—

“चणकाश्च मसूराश्च खण्डिकाः सहरेणवः ।

लघवः शीतमधुराः सकषाया विरूक्षणाः ॥ २८ ॥”

(*Sūtrasthāna*, ch. 27, p. 155 of N. S. Press, Edition of *Carakasamhitā*, Bombay, 1941).

Cakrapāṇidatta (c. A. D. 1060) commenting on the above verse does not explain the word चणक. He merely states that *C* is well-known (“चणकः प्रसिद्धः”).

¹ Bhānuji Dikṣita (c. A. D. 1630) quotes the derivation of हरिमन्थक given by Rāyamukuta (A. D. 1431) viz. “ह्रीणां मन्यं जनयति” but does not accept it. He observes “— इति मुकुटः । तैत्तिरीय । ‘हरिमन्थजः’ इति पाठप्रसङ्गात् ।” He gives his own derivation :— “हरिभिर्मन्थने । मन्यं विलोडने” (भा. प. से.) etc. These derivations remain to be verified historically as both Rāyamukuta and Bhānuji lived in the 15th and 17th centuries respectively when चणक was a recognised food for horses in India. Did Amara know *C* as food for horses?

² In the *Carakasamhitā Cikitsāsthāna*, chapter 29, verse 51 contains a reference to चणक as follows :—

P. 630— “आढक्यचणका मुद्गा मसूराः समकुष्ठकाः ।

यूपार्थं बहुसर्पिकः प्रशस्ता वातशोणिते ॥ ५१ ॥”

Cakrapāṇidatta does not comment on the word चणक in this verse.

8 [Annals, B. O. R. I.],

(3) The *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, another earliest medical text, refers to both the synonyms of *C* given in the *Amarakośa* viz. चणक and हरिमन्थ in the following extracts :—

(i) In the कृद्यान्यवर्ग we get *C* mentioned in the following extract :—

“मुद्ग-वनमुद्ग-कलाय-मकुष्ट-मसूर-मङ्गल्य-चणक-सतीन-त्रिपु-
टक-हरेणु-आढकी-प्रभृतयः वैदलाः ॥ २७ ॥”¹

(Vide *Sūtrasthāna*, Ch. 46 of *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, N. S. P. 1938, p. 216).

Dallana (c. A. D. 1100) commenting on the word चणक in the above extract says “चणकः प्रसिद्धः” just like Cakrapānidatta of c. 1060 A. D. It is, however, clear that *C* was a grain of established reputation in the 11th century as also in the 12th century.

(ii) In the शाकवर्ग the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* refers to चणक as a शाक or vegetable and records its properties as follows :—

“स्वादुपाकरसं शाकं दुर्जरं हरिमन्थजम् ॥”

(*Sūtrasthāna*, Ch. 46 verse 277, p. 234)

Dallana explains :— “हरिमन्थः चणकः” (compare *Amarakośa*'s statement— “चणको हरिमन्थकः”

It is clear from the above references that both the words for *C* given by *Amarakośa* viz. चणक and हरिमन्थ or हरिमन्थक were known as early as the time of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* as we have them today. Whether the word हरिमन्थ has any allusion to horses (हरिभिः मथ्यते) as observed by Bhānuji c. A. D. 1630 will have to be investigated.

(4) In the *Mānissollāsa*² of the Cālukya king Someśvara (c. A. D. 1130) there are various references to *C* such as (1) the use of *C* flour-balls as a bait to fish in angling, (2) the use of *C*

¹ On p. 217 of the सुश्रुतसंहिता (1938) the properties of चणक are given in the following lines :—

“वातलाः शतिमधुराः सकषाया विरुक्षणाः ।

वक्त्रोष्णितार्पितघनाश्चणकाः पुंस्त्वनाशनाः ॥

त एव घृतसंयुक्तास्त्रिदोषशमनाः परं ।”

See also p. 682— “मुद्गान् मसूरान् चणकान् कुलस्थान् समकुष्ठकान् ॥ १५० ॥

आहारकाले यूपार्थं ज्वरिताय प्रदापयेत् ।

² Ed. in *G. O. Series*, Baroda, Vol. II (1939).

as food for buffaloes used for buffalo-fights, (3) use of *C* grains for tempting the boars before hunting them in the forest-ground and (4) the use of *C* in cooking. I have already recorded the first three uses in my paper on "*Cayaka* as food for horses etc." already referred to in this paper. The uses of *C* in cookery¹ as mentioned in the *Mānasollāsa* are as follows :—

In the chapter on अन्नभोग the author describes several dishes, both vegetable and non-vegetable (pp. 115-136).

(i) *Cayaka* gram is to be ground in a घट्ट (grinding-stone) and then its pulse is to be cooked with spices. This is called विदलपाक (pp. 116-117).

(ii) पुरिकाs prepared from चणकघट्ट (or gram-flour) and boiled in oil are mentioned by our author (p. 119).

(iii) The preparation of वेष्टिकाs and धोसकs is described in the following verses (p. 119) :—

“ हरिमन्थस्य विदलं हिङ्गुजीरकमिश्रितम् ।

लवणेन च संयुक्तमार्द्रकेण समन्वितम् ॥ ९१ ॥

वेष्टयित्वा गोलकेन वेष्टिका खर्परे पचेत् ।

विदलं चणकस्यैवं पूर्वसंभारसंस्कृतम् ॥ ९२ ॥

ताप्यां तैले(ल)विलिप्तायां धोसकान्विपचेद्दुधः ।

माषस्य राजमाषस्य वट्टाणस्य च धोसकान् ॥ ९३ ॥

अनेनैव प्रकारेण विपचेत्पाकतत्त्ववित् । ”

It would appear from the verses that the author asks us to use the pulse of हरिमन्थ in the preparation of वेष्टिकाs, while in the preparation धोसकs he prescribes the use of the चणक pulse (along with the pulse of माष, राजमाष and वट्टाण). We shall have to see if he drew any distinction between हरिमन्थ and चणक, which are given as synonyms of gram by the *Amarakośa*.

(iv) The use of चणक and हरित चणक in non-vegetarian dishes is prescribed by Someśvara (p. 124).

¹ Prof. R. D. Karve, M.A., who has written a book on Dietetics in Marathi (आहारशास्त्र) informs me in a letter dated 7-11-1945 :— “ About gram, I find in an American dictionary that it belongs to the East Indies. An ounce of gram (dry weight) contains 5.70 grammes of protein

1.30 of fat

and 15.30 of Carbohydrates, giving 96 calories. It also contains Vitamins A and B to an appreciable extent, but not the other vitamins ”.

(v) In the chapter on वास्तूपशमन, चणकोदन is mentioned along with वृत्तोदन, मृद्धोदन, मांसोदन, दध्मोदन among the offerings to the deity (pp. 10-11).

These references to *C* and its various preparations in c. A. D. 1130 shows how this कुधान्य of Suśruta's time had attained wide celebrity and popularity within say a period of 1000 years from *Suśruta* as proved by its use as food for gods, men, and animals described by Someśvara.

(5) The use of *C* in Brahmanical worship in connection with वास्तूपशमन referred to above has its parallel in the references to its use in Jain ritual as well. In a book on the Jain ritual called विधिप्रपा¹ by Jinaprabhasūri composed in *Saṃvat 1363* (= A. D. 1307)² at Kōśalānagara we find the following references to *C* :—

(i) Page 101— In section 106 called प्रतिष्ठापकरण संग्रह, चणा is mentioned among the seven *dhanyas* as follows :—

“ सात धनउं-सण बीज, कुलत्थ, मसूर, वल्ल, चणा, ब्राहि, चवला ”³

(ii) Page 101— The use of चणक for प्रतिष्ठाविधि is referred to as follows :—

“ ततो गन्धपुष्पयुक्त सप्तधान्यस्नपनमञ्जलिभिः ।
तच्चेदम-शालि-यव-गोधूम-मूद्र-वल्ल-चणक-चवला इति ”

Jinaprabha's *Vudhiprapā*, though mainly Prākṛit, contains some portions in Sanskrit. He uses both the names of *C*—(1) Prākṛit चणा and (2) Sanskrit चणक.

(6) In the *Aṣṭāṅgasamgraha* of Vāgbhata I (C. A. D. 625) we get the following verse under शिम्बिधान्यवर्ग of ch. 7 (अन्नस्वरूप-विज्ञानीय) of *Sūtrasthāna* :—

¹ Ed. by Muni Jinavijayaji, N. S. Press, Bombay, 1941 जिनदत्तसूरि प्राचीन पुस्तकोद्धार कण्ड—No. 44.

² Vide 16 of Biographical account of Jinaprabhasūri by Agarchand Nahta given in the above edition. Mr. Nahta has given here a list of Jinaprabha's works in which I find the following entry :—

“ ३ विधिप्रपा, सं. ६५७४, सं. १३६१ विजयदशमी, कोशालनगर ”

³ Other materials mentioned under section 106 include लाज, यव, कंठ, माष, सर्षप, गोधूम, जवारा, (cf. जवारक on 108), तिल, etc. जवारा or जवारक is obviously जौधला (Holous Sorghum) (vide my paper on the *History of Jondhalā* in *B. C. Law Vol. I*, 1945, pp. 142-158).

Page 44 “ शिम्बिजामुद्गमङ्गल्यवनमुद्गमकुष्ठकाः ॥ २१ ॥

मसूरचवलाढक्यचणकाश्च पृथग्विधाः ।

कषायस्वादुलघवा विबन्धाध्मान कारिणः ॥ २२ ॥ ”

The commentator Indu makes no remarks on चणक in the above extract.

(7) In the शिम्बिधान्यवर्ग in chap. 6 (अन्नस्वरूपविज्ञानीय) of the *Sūtrasthāna* of the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* of Vāgbhata II (8th or 9th century A. D.) we find the following verse :—

Page 87 “ मुद्गाढकीमसूरादि शिम्बीधान्यं विबन्धकृत् ।

कषायं स्वादु संग्राहि कटुपाकं हिमं लघु ॥ १७ ॥ ”

Here there is no direct mention of *C* by Vāgbhata II but *Arūṇadatta* (A. D. 1220) says that चणक is implied by the word आदि (मसूरादीति अत्र आदिशब्देन सकटचणकादीनां ग्रहणम्). *Hemādri* (A. D. 1260) also takes the same view when he says in his comment on the above verse :—

“ आदि शब्दात् संग्रहोक्ताः (सू. अ. ७)—“ शिम्बिजामुद्गमाङ्गल्य-
वनमुद्गमकुष्ठकाः । मसूरचवलाढक्यचणकाश्च पृथग्विधाः ” इति ”

(8) Dr. G. P. Mujumdar in his article on *Vedic Plants* (*B. C. Law Volume*, Part I, 1945, p. 652) makes the following entry about a plant of the name खल्वः :—

“ 55. <i>Khalva</i>	<i>Phaseolus radiatus</i>	<i>A. V.</i> ii, 1 ; <i>V.</i> 23, 8 ; <i>Vāj. Sām.</i> xviii, 12
<i>Canaka</i>	<i>Cicer arietinum</i>	महीधर glosses it with चणक (Chick pea) <i>Bṛhad.</i> Up. VI, 3, 32—सायण glosses it with निष्पाव ²
<i>Nispāva</i>	<i>Vigracatjang</i>	

¹ There is a direct mention of चणक in the निदानस्थान of अष्टांगहृदय (p. 494 of Paradkar Shastri's Edition, N. S. P., Bombay, 1939) as follows :—

“ मुद्गकैद्रवजूर्णाहिकरीचणकादिभिः ”

चणक, जूर्णाह (= जोधळा *Holcus Sorghum*) etc. are not recommended for persons suffering from piles (अर्शम्).

In foot-note 4 on p. 87 Paradkar Shastri states :— “ अस्यपि—

“ असकं पित्तहरो रुक्षो वानलश्चणकः स्मृत ” इत्याधिकः पाठः (in an Ms)

² The word निष्पाव occurs in the *Carakasamhitā* (*Sūtrasthāna*, ch. 26) as follows :—

(continued on the next page)

I cannot say how far Mahidhara's identification of खल्व plant (mentioned in the *Atharvaveda*, the *Vājasaneyi Samhitā* with चणक is correct, as Mahidhara lived between A. D. 1550 and 1620. Similarly Sāyana's explanation of खल्व as "निष्पाव" is also suspicious. The names चणक and हरिमन्थ, both found in the *Amarakośa* and *Suśrutasamhitā* are not found in the list of Vedic plants recorded by Dr. Majumdar.

For identifying खल्व with either चणक or निष्पाव we must have some testimony of the earlier texts rather than that of the commentators of the 14th and 16th centuries viz. Sāyana and Mahidhara respectively,

(9) In the अष्टाङ्गहृदयकाण्ड by K. M. Vaidya, Trichur, 1936 the following extracts have been recorded under चणक:—

P. 212 — (1) c. A. D. 1450 — राजनिघण्टु of नरहरि gives the synonyms for चणक:—

(continued from the previous page)

— "तथा कङ्गवनकमकुष्ठककुलत्थमापनिष्पावाः पयसा सह विरुद्धाः ।"

Cakrapāṇidutta (c. A. D. 1060) does not comment on निष्पाव in this line.

—निष्पाव is mentioned in the शमीधान्यवर्ग by चणक as follows:—

"अल्वगुजः सैडगजो, निष्पावा वानपित्तलाः ॥

Cakrapāṇidutta explains:— "निष्पावो बल्लः".

In the शमीधान्यवर्ग itself *Caraka* gives the properties of चणक separately as — चणकाश्च मसूराश्च etc. ". It is, therefore, clear that he regarded चणक and निष्पाव as different.

The अष्टाङ्गसंग्रह contains several references to निष्पाव as follows:—

(1) सूत्र० Chap. 7—" निष्पावस्तु सरोक्षः " The commentator इन्दु explains:—निष्पावो राजशिम्बिः "

— "चिल्लित्वाक निष्पाव " —इन्दु explains: " नि० राजशिम्बी "

Chap. 8—" वमनं दद्यात् । निष्पावाम्बुभिर्वा " —इन्दु explains " निष्पावः शिम्बीधान्यविशेषः "

Chap. 9—" कुलत्थमापनिष्पावाश्च " — Here इन्दु does not explain the word निष्पावाः

The भावप्रकाश (c. A. D. 1560) repeats Indu's identification of निष्पाव as follows:—

" निष्पावो राजशिम्बिः स्यात् बल्लकः श्वेतशिम्बिकः "

“चणस्तु हरिमन्थः स्यात् सुगन्धः कृष्णकञ्चुकः ।

बालभोज्यो वाजिभक्षश्चणकः कञ्चुकी च सः ॥”

(2) भावप्रकाश of भावमिश्र (c. A. D. 1550) gives the properties of चणकः— “चणकः शीतलो रूक्षः etc.” He also mentions different properties for चणक when it is अंगार-भृष्ट (fried on burning coal), आर्द्रभृष्ट (fried when green) तलभृष्ट, (fried in oil), शुष्कभृष्ट (fried when dry) etc. Mr. Vaidya records further the properties of black Canaka (कृष्णचणक) as follows:—

“कृष्णस्तु चणकः शीतो मधुरश्च रसायनः ।

बलकृच्छवासकासघ्नः पित्तातीसारपित्तहा ॥”

This verse is taken from “नि. र.” (= निघण्टुरत्नाकर ?) a late medical work.

(10) The अग्निपुराण (Venkateshvara Press, Pothi Edition) contains the following references to चणकः—

(i) Chap. 175 (folio 123) — चणक is forbidden in the observance of a fast:—

उपवासः स विज्ञेयः सर्वभोगविवर्जितः ।

कास्यं मांसं मसूरं च चणकं कोरदूषकम् ॥ ६ ॥

शाकं मधु पराजं च त्यजेदुपवसन् स्त्रियम् ।”

(ii) Chap. 279 (folio 189) सिद्धौषधानि

—“मुद्गा मसूराश्चणकाः कुलत्थाश्च सकुष्ठकाः ॥ ६ ॥”

—“मकुष्ठचणका मुद्गा भक्ष्या गोधूमका हिताः ॥ ९ ॥”

(iii) Chap. 289 (folio 199) अश्वलक्षणचिकित्सकम् — Here चणक is prescribed as food for horses.

“निस्तुषाणां प्रदातव्या यवानां चतुरादकी ।

चणकब्रीहिमौद्गानि कलायं वापि दापयेत् ॥ ५० ॥”

When this section of the *Agnipurāṇa* was composed, the practice of using चणक as food for horses as an alternative to यव was getting into vogue. According to Dr. Hazra the present *Agnipurāṇa* incorporating summaries of works on the different branches of learning was “compiled sometimes during the 9th century” (Vide p. 138 of *Purāṇic Records*, Dacca, 1940). We may, therefore regard the above reference to चणक as food for horses along with यव, as belonging to the period A. D. 800-900.

(11) In the बृहत्संहिता of Varāhamihira (C. A. D. 500) I have found the following references to चणकः—

(i) *Chap. 15*-- verse 14 (P. 96 of Calcutta Edition, 1865)

— “ इन्द्राग्निं दैवते रक्त
पुष्पफलं शाखिनः सतिलमुद्गाः ।

कार्पासं मासं चणकाः
पुरन्दरं हुताशं भक्ताश्च ॥ ”

(ii) *Chap. 16*-- verse 34 (P. 105)

— “ कटुतिक्तं रसायनं विधु-
योषितो भुजगतस्करमहिष्यः ।

खरकरभचणकवातुल—
निष्पावा चार्कपुत्रस्य ॥ ३४ ॥ ”

(12) In the *Bower Ms*— Part II (ed. by Hoernle) p. 56 the reading “ चणकै ” has been restored by the editor but it cannot be relied on for evidential purposes.

(13) In the Jaina Prākṛit work *Pauma-Cariya* (Ed. by Profs. N. A. Gore and R. D. Ladhu, Poona, 1941) canto 33, verse 16 (p. 6) we get a reference to चणय (= चणक) as follows :—

“ चणयं तिलं मुग्गमासा
विक्रिखरिया तन्दुला यं गेगविहा ।
दीसन्ति बहुदेसे
जिण्णा यं जरग्गवो पडिया ॥ १६ ॥ ”

This is a description of the country of Avantī (अवन्तिविषय)
Translation :— “ There are seen scattered *grams*, *sesamum*, *mūg*, beans and rice of many species as well as old bulls lying down in many places ”.

(14) The पञ्चतन्त्र (मित्रभेद) N. S. Press, 1902 refers to चणक and the practice of frying it as follows :—

Page 23--“ उत्पतितोऽपि हि चणकः
शक्तः किं भ्राष्ट्रकं भङ्गम् ॥ १४३ ॥ ”

(15) The कल्पद्रुकोश (A.D. 1660) edited in G. O. Series (Baroda, 1928, p. 159) refers to fried and salted (gram) *pulse* as follows :—

--“ दालिः स्त्रियां पुंसि सूपो दाली स्याल्लवणान्विते ”

(16) The राजनिघण्टु of Narahari (c. A. D. 1450) which is later than मदनविनोद (A. D. 1374) defines दाल as follows :—

“ स्फोटस्तु चणकादीनां दालीति परिकीर्तिता ”

(Vide p. 389, Chapter XVI of राजनिघण्टु - Anandashrām Sans. Series, 1896) शाल्यादिवर्ग.

(17) The *गुह्यसमाजतन्त्र* (G. O. S. Baroda) which Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharya assigns to *3rd Century A. D.* (see Intro. p. XXIX) contains references to चणक in the following extracts:-

Page 53-- ' हुँकार गुटिकां ध्यात्वा चणकास्थिप्रमाणतः ।

मध्ये स्वदेवताविम्बं मुखे चिन्त्य विभावयेत् ॥ ”

(the expression “ चणकास्थिप्रमाणतः ” is repeated thrice on this page.)

Page 25 -- “ यवमात्रं प्रयत्नेन नासिकाग्रे विचिन्तयेत् ॥

चणकास्थि प्रमाणं तु अष्टपत्रं सकेशरम् ।

नासिकाग्र इदं स्पष्टं भावयेत् बोधितत्परः ॥ ”

(18) The *आकाशभैरवकल्प* (B. O. R. Institute, Ms No. 43 of 1925-26) mentions the materials to be kept in store (*वस्तुसंग्रहस्वरूप*). Referring to the granary it observes:-

“ ब्रीहिगोधूमचणकसुद्धमाषयवादिकम् ।

धान्यजानं च संगृह्य धान्यकाष्ठेषु निक्षिपेत् ॥ ”

This work appears to have been composed between A. D. 1500 and 1700.

(19) The *Hobson-Jobson* (London, 1903) in the article on *Kitchery* (खिचड़ी) refers to the use of “ pease ” as food for horses in the following extract :-

c. 1175 — “ Horses are fed on *pease*, also on *Kichiris*, boiled with sugar and oil etc. ” — *Athan Nikitin*.

Possibly “ *pease* ” here are equal to “ *Chick-peas*. ”

(20) Even though चणक appears to have come into use as food for horses from the time of the *Agnipurāṇa* (9th century A. D.) the reputation of यव as food for horses remained untarnished as will be seen from the following references :-

(i) King Bhoja in his *युक्तिकल्पतरु* (Calcutta, 1917) (c. A. D. 1050) has a section on अश्वयुक्ति in which he prescribes यव¹ as food for horses :-

¹ King Bhoja refers to चणक in the following verse of the अश्वयुक्ति (section on अष्टिदानि, p. 189 of *युक्तिकल्पतरु*, 1917) :-

“ रक्ते मृत्युस्त्रिभिर्मोसैश्चतुर्भिश्च विचित्रके ॥ ९१ ॥

पञ्चभिर्निलवर्णे च षड्भिर्बन्ध समारुती ।

सप्तभिः पाटलाकारे चणकाभे तथाशुभिः ॥ ९२ ॥ ”

P. 193--“यवांश्च पक्त्वा त्रितरेद विधिज्ञः ॥ २५ ॥”

P. 194--“शिशिरे.....

तदनु प्रातर्भोजयेद् यवांश्च ।

यवयवसांश्च तथा मृतस्वरूपान् ॥ २६ ॥”

(ii) The आङ्गधरपद्धति, (c. A. D. 1325) B. S. S. Edition p. 262, verse 1711, prescribes यव for horses :—

—“दूर्वा घृतं यवान्नीरं शिशिरं सर्वदा शुभम्”

(21) Nakula in his अश्वचिकित्सित (Bib. Indica, Calcutta, 1887, p. 39) prescribes चणक moistened with water for horses in the absence of यव.

“यवाभावेऽथ चणकान् दद्यादाद्रितरान् सदा ।”

The practice of feeding horses on चणक moistened in water referred to by Jayadatta is corroborated by Tavernier, (A. D. 1641-1668) who observes in his Travels (Vol. I, pp. 102-3 as follows :—

They receive a measure of *Chick-peas* which the groom has crushed between two stones and steeped in water. It is these which take the place of hay and oats”.

(22) The Vijayanagar horses in the 16th century were fed on चणक. Barbosa (A. D. 1500) says :—

“The food is rice boiled with *Chick-peas* and other pulse and each man.....comes to draw the ration for his horse or elephant” (Vide pp. 130-131 of *Third Dynasty* by Venkataramanayya, Madras).

(23) Prof. Dalgado (p. 172 of *Portuguese Vocables*, G. O. S. Baroda, 1936) has recorded some information about चणक (gram) as follows :—

“*GRAO* -- Konk. *grāniv*, the chick-pea: *Cicer arietinum*—Lunn

..... The Portuguese formerly called the above vetch *grāvo de cavalo* (‘vetch for horses’) and not merely *grāo*; it is smaller than the kind grown in the Iberic Peninsula. At the time when the Portuguese took Goa they found that *mungo* (Hindustani *mung* was used there as horse-food).

(24) The word चणक (or its synonym हरिमन्थ or हरिमन्थक) is not found in the काश्यायनवार्तिक, अष्टाध्यायी, महाभाष्य and धातुपाठ (see Word-Indices to these works published by the B. O. R. Institute Poona).

In the word-index to गणपाठ it is recorded by Pt. Chitrav Shastri as "चणक, ७१, ७२" but the commentary काशिका (c. A. D. 661) has different variants for this चणक viz. वर्णक, वण. As the गणपाठ appears to have been considerably tampered with since Pāṇini's times this reference to चणक in the गणपाठ is not reliable. I hope that the specialists in Sanskrit grammar will examine this point more closely and see if my statement is correct.

(25) The *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya (or Kauṭalya) as its word-index shows, does not contain the words चणक or हरिमन्थ.

(26) The बृहद्भागवतसंहिता (Ms No. 542 of 1895-1902 dated Samvat 1881. A. D. 1825) contains a chapter on तुलाकोश in which there is reference¹ to चणक and other grains as will be seen from the following stanzas on folio 192 of the Ms :—

“शालीन् ब्रीहिन्यवांश्चैव गोधूमांश्च तिलांस्तथा ।
केदवांश्च प्रियंगूंश्च मुद्गान्माषान् ससर्षपान् ॥
चणकान्सहनिष्पावान् कुलस्थान् सहरेणुकान् ।
सामान्येतानि कृत्वा तु तुलाधारेण धारयेत् ॥”

(27) In the हस्यायुर्वेद of पालकाप्य (*Anandāśrama Sans. Series*, Poona, 1894, p. 646), a big treatise on the care and medical treatment of elephants I have traced the following verse containing a reference to the use of चणक in the diet of the elephant along with यव, गोधूम, कलाय etc. :—

“तदाहि यवगोधूमाः कलायाश्चणकास्तथा ।
यवसार्धं प्रशस्यन्ते शाल्यन्नं चैव भोजनम् ॥ ५६ ॥”

(28) The commentators क्षीरस्वामिन् (c. A. D. 1050) and वन्यघटीय सर्वानन्द (A. D. 1159) comment on the line in the *Amarakośa* “चणको हरिमन्थकः” as follows :—

क्षीरस्वामिन्—“चणते दीर्यते चणकः ।
हरिभिर्मथ्यते हरिमन्थकः ॥”
सर्वानन्द—“चणकद्वयं चणके । “चन च नोच्यते ॥”
इत्यस्माद् धातोरोणादि कक्कुना धातुप्रदीपादौ
चनकः साधितः । चणकस्तु चिन्त्यः ।
हरिमन्थके स्वार्थिकः कः ॥”

¹ This reference was kindly supplied to me by Mr. S. N. Savadi, B.A., (Hons.) my Senior Cataloguing Assistant in the Manuscript Department of the B. O. R. Institute, Poona.

But these commentators lived in times, when चणक as horse-food was quite current in India. ¹

(29) Hemacandra in his देशीनाममाला (c. A. D. 1140) explains the word हिरिमन्थ for चणक as follows :—

“हिरिमन्था चणकाः । हीरो सूचीमुखाभदावादि वस्तु ।
वज्रवाचकस्तु हीरशब्दः संस्कृतसमः । हरवाचकस्तु
हरशब्दभवः । केचित् हीर शब्दं भस्मन्यपि प्रयुञ्जते ”

(See p. 343 of देशीनाममाला, B. S. Series, B. O. R. Institute, Poona, chapter VIII, 70).

We have now the three variants of the synonym for चणक viz. हिरिमन्थ, हरिमन्थक and हिरिमन्थ.

(30) The use of चणक in worship is found recorded in the following verse of Bharata's नाट्यशास्त्र (Vol. I, ed. by M. R. Kavi, G. O. Series, Baroda, 1926, page 77) chap. III, verse 40 :—

“ अर्चयेद्भूतसंघाश्च चणकैः पललापुतैः ॥ ४० ॥ ”

Mr. Kavi records the following variants for the above reference to चणक :—

“वेणूरुपललापुतै (ग) ” and “ पयसापुतैः (ज) ”

We may compare the above use of चणक in worship with the use of चणकौदन as an offering to deity mentioned in वास्तुपद्मन in the मानसोह्रास (A. D. 1130) and the use of चणक in Jaina ritual as laid down in the विधिप्रभा (A. D. 1307) (see references Nos. 4 and 5 given above).

(31) There is no reference to चणक in the following ration ² for horses laid down by Kautilya's अर्थशास्त्र :— (1) Rice, (2) Barley (यव), (3) Priyangu, (4) Mudga, (5) Māṣa, (6) Oil, (7) Salt, (8) Flesh, (9) Broth, (10) Curd, (11) Sugar, (12) Liquor, (13) Milk. (Vide p. 147 of Eng. Trans. of अर्थशास्त्र, 1929, by Shama Sastry.)

¹ See my papers on this subject viz.

1 “Role of Yava and Caṇaka in the Regimen of Indian Horses as disclosed in the Aśvāyurveda of Vāgbhaṭa son of Vikrama” in *Dr. A. B. Dhruva Volume*.

2 “Use of Caṇaka as horse-food, vouched by Five Sanskrit Treatises on the Aśvaśāstra” in the *Prācyavāṇī*, Calcutta 1946.

³ Cf. the daily ration of a horse recorded in *Peshwa's Diaries* about A. D. 1760 (P. D. S. No. 22 — Document No. 172) :—

“घट्ट घोड्याचा खुराक — १। पायडी हगरे (gram) ; १ शेर पीठ (flour) ; अर्धा शेर तूप (ghee) ; पायशेर साखर (sugar) ; २ टाक काळे मिरे (black pepper) ”.

This omission of चणक in the ration of horses, given by कौटिल्य in a detailed manner, is significant. चणक as horse-food appears to have been adopted much later than the time of the *Arthasāstra*.

(32) In the medical compendium काश्यपसंहिता which was discovered some years ago by Rajaguru Pandit Hemaraj of Nepal and subsequently edited by him (N. S. Press, Bombay,) चणक is referred to in the following stanza on p. 171 :—

“तैलानि कङ्कुवाढकी यावकाश्च
मूलानि कन्दाश्चणकाः कलायाः ।”

This compendium is one of the earliest medical texts like the चरकसंहिता, the सुश्रुतसंहिता, the भेलसंहिता and others.

(33) The भेलसंहिता. Ed. by Asutosh Mukerji. Calcutta, refers to चणक in the following lines on p. 46 :—

“मुद्गान् ममूराश्चणकान् कुलुत्थांश्च सलीलकान्”

(34) शिवदाससेन in his commentary on the द्रव्यगुणसंग्रह of चक्रपाणि-दत्त (C. A. D. 1060) quotes the verse on चणक from the *Charaka-saṃhitā* as follows :—

“तदुक्तं चरके—‘चणकाश्च ममूराश्च खण्डिकाः सहरेणवः ।
पित्तश्लेष्मणि शस्यन्ते’ इति

(Vide p. 30 of द्रव्यगुणसंग्रह ed. by Kailasa Chandra Sen, Calcutta, 1874).

(35) चक्रपाणिदत्त records the properties of चणक in his द्रव्यगुणसंग्रह (p. 29) as follows :—

“चणको वातलः शीतः कफासृक् पित्तपुंस्त्वनुत् ॥ २८ ॥”

(36) The Prākṛit-Hindi Dictionary पाइअ-मइ-महणवां (प्राकृत-शब्द-महार्णव) by Har Govindadas (1923-28) records the following words about चणक :—

P. 399 --चणइया--खी [चणकिका] = ममूर ; अन्नविशेष

(Usages) :— टाणंगसुत्त (५.३) आ. समिति (1918, Bombay)

चणग (See चणअ)

p. 398-- चणअ and चण --[चणक] = चना ; अन्नविशेष

—(Usages) :— जंबूद्वीपप्रज्ञप्ति (D. L. P. Fund, Bombay, 1920) ३

—कुमारपालचरित (B. S. S. 1900)

—गाथासप्तशती (Ed. by Weber, Leipzig, 1881 and N. S. Press, Bombay 1911) ५५७

(c. A. D. 1140)—देऊनाममाला १, २१ (B. S. S. 1880)

• P. 399— चणग=(चणक)

Usages A. D. 1143 :— सुपासनाहचरिअ ६३१ (Benares, 1918)

about (A. D. 1100)—सुरसुंदरीचरिअ ३, १४८ (Benares, 1916)

—चणगगाम¹ (= चणकग्राम)—ग्रामविशेष ; गौडदेशका

एक ग्राम

--चणगपुर-नगरविशेष²; राजगृह-नगर का असली नाम.

It will be seen from the above references that चणक is represented in Prakrit texts also from very early times.

(37) In the *Mahānubhāva* text of c. A. D. 1250 called the लीळाचरित्र (Ed. by H. N. Nene, Nagpur, 1936, 1937) the Marathi word चणे (gram) for चणक is found in the following line :—

Part IV, p. 51-गहु : चणे : जोंधळे : ऐसे होते : नेयाचा भक्तजनाचा
ठाई उपहारु केला ”

Here the use of gram (चणे) along with गहु (wheat) and जोंधळे (Jawar, *Holcus Sorghum*) as food current in the Maratha country is distinctly mentioned.

(38) क्षीरस्वामिन् (c. A. D. 1050) the commentator of the *Amarakośa* specifies in the following lines 17 edible grains in which चणक (gram) is mentioned :—

“ ब्रीहिर्यवो मसूरो गोधूमो मुद्गमाषतिलचणकाः ।

अणवप्रियङ्गुकोद्रवमयुष्टकाः (शालिराढक्यः) ।

द्वौ च कुलायकुलत्थौ शण—सप्तदशानि धान्यानि ॥ ”

(See p. 203 of *Amarakośa*, ed. by H. D. Sharma and G. S. Sardesai, Poona, 1941)

On p. 204, क्षीरस्वामि explains चणक as “ चण्यते दीयते चणकः ”

(39) The Kashmir poet Dāmodara Gupta in his Sanskrit work कृद्गनीमत (A. D. 755-786) refers to चण (= चणक) in the following stanza :—

¹ Compare the derivation of the word चाणाक्य as son of चणक ऋषि given by Hemacandra in his lexicon अभिधानचिन्तामणि (३ मर्त्यकाण्ड, verse 517) as follows :—

“ वात्स्यायने मल्लनागः कौटिल्यश्चणकात्मजः । ”

Hemacandra explains :—“ चणकस्य ऋषेः आत्मजः चणकात्मजः, चाणाक्यो ऽपि ”—
I cannot say if this derivation is historically correct.

“ गृहशतमधिकमटित्वा कलम--कुलत्थादि—चण-मसूरादि ।
एकीभूतं भुङ्क्ते क्षुधोपतप्तौऽध्वगो भक्षम् ॥ २२९ ॥ ”

(Vide p. 52 of कटुनीमत ed. by Tripathi, Bombay, 1924)

Here चण (gram) is mentioned along with कलम, कुलत्थ, मसूर etc. gathered by a wandering beggar for his food from hundred different houses. चणक or चण was obviously grown in plenty in Kashmir or imported there from other provinces in the 8th century A. D. so as to be available for distribution as alms to beggars as shown by the above stanza.

(40) In the medical compendium called the शार्ङ्गधरसंहिता (ed. by P. L. Vaidya, Poona, 1917) चणक is referred to in the following verses :—

Khaṇḍa 3, chap. 2— Page 8 (स्नेहपानविधि)

“ रूक्षस्य स्नेहनं स्नेहैरतिस्निग्धस्य रूक्षणम् ।

शामाकचणकायश्च तक्रापिण्याकसकुभिः ॥ ३१ ॥ ”

This treatise mentions अहिफेन (or Opium) on pages 165, 75 etc. According to Pt. D. K. Shastri शार्ङ्गधर (son of दामोदर) the author of the शार्ङ्गधरसंहिता “ definitely lived in the 14th century ” (Vide his article on *Medical Science in Gujarat* in *Journal of Gujarat Research Society*, April-July 1945, p. 84).

(41) The lexicon वैजयन्ती (c. A. D. 1055) refers to चणक in the भूमिकाण्ड (वैद्याध्याय) as चण :—

“ वानुलश्चणः ” (Vide 126 of Oppert's Edition).

(42) In the *Hobson-Jobson* (By Yule and Burnell, London, 1903) there is an article on GRAM (= चणक) in which references to Gram as horse-food are recorded from A. D. 1513 onwards (vide pp. 392-393 of *Hobson-Jobson*).

(43) In his *टिप्पणी* on the अष्टाङ्गसंग्रह (Poona, 1940—सूत्रस्थान) Pt. R. D. Kinjavadekar quotes the following verses containing a reference to चणक :—

निस्तुषश्चणकैर्भृष्टैस्तुर्यांशैश्च यवैः कृताः ।

मक्तवः शर्करासर्पिर्युक्ता ग्रीष्मेऽतिपूजिताः ।

शुक्रला लघवो बल्याः शीतास्तुभिरुचिप्रदाः ”

No source, from which this extract is taken, is indicated by Pt. Kinjavadekar.

(44) In the Marathi Dictionary called the शब्दकोश, Poona, 1934 the equivalents of चणक are recorded as follows :-

Page 1134—चणा = हरभरा (मोठ्या दाण्याचा)

Usage :- “ वानरांचे ठेवणें । गालफडा भरावे चण ”

This usage shows the fondness of monkeys for चणक.

Page 3175 - हरव(भ)ग = चणा [सं. हरि = घोडा or हर = शिव + भरक] I cannot say how far this etymology of हरभरा is correct. I may, however, compare the word हरभरा for चणक with हरिमन्थ or हरिमन्थक its synonym recorded in the *Amarakośa* and the *Suśrutasamhitā*. In the absence of a systematic record of usages of words any imaginary derivations of words are inconclusive, if not at times ridiculous.

(45) In the treatise on horses by वाग्भट, son of विक्रम, called the अश्वार्युर्वेद (Ms No. 581 of 1899-1915 in the Govt. Mss Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona) there are two small sections called the यवाविधि and चणकविधि dealing with the praise of यव and चणक respectively as food for horses (folios 55-56). This Ms is dated (*Samvat 1708* = A. D. 1651). I have sent for publication a paper on these sections to the *Dr. A. B. Dhruva Commemoration Volume*. I may, however, note here the following important verses from the चणकविधि which tell us that यव was the principal horse-food in the region between the Himalayas and the Vindhya mountains while to the south of the Vindhya चणक was favoured as horse-food ; in the western regions मकुष्टक was the principal horse-food.

—“ हिमालयादिन्ध्यभुवस्तु यावत् यवाः प्रधाना कथिता मुनीन्द्रैः ।

दिग्दक्षिणायां चणकः प्रशस्तो मकुष्टकः पश्चिमभूमिभागेः ॥ ”

—“ चणको दक्षिणे विन्ध्याद् उत्तरेण यवाहितः ”

The date of this अश्वार्युर्वेद is not fixed. It appears to be earlier than about A. D. 1000. In the 54 breeds of horses mentioned in this work no reference is made to the Persian and Arabian horses which are mentioned by जयदत्त and नकुल in their treatises on the horses as the best breeds.

(46) In another treatise on horses called the सारसमुच्चय (Ms No. 119 of 1866-68 in the Govt. Mss Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona) by one कल्हण, son of बिल्हण there are references to चणक as horse-food on folios 10 and 11 as follows :-

—“ श्रेष्ठः सुजातश्चणकोतिनीलः पुष्पैः फलेः संचित एव देयः ”

—“ हिमालयाद्विन्ध्यभुवस्तु यावद् यवः प्रधानः कथितो मुनीन्द्रैः

दिग्दक्षिणायां चणकः प्रशस्तो मकुष्टकः पश्चिभभूमिभागे ॥ ९ ॥ ”

[This verse is identical with verse quoted by me from the
अश्वारुर्वेद (चणकविधि) of वाग्भट].

The date of this सारसमुच्चय is not known. It may be later than A. D. 1000.

(47) विश्वासदेवी in her गङ्गावाक्यावली (ed. by Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri, Calcutta, 1940) deals with the objects that are not to be used by a pilgrim performing a *Śrāddha* at a holy place. She, however, mentions चणक among the grains that may be offered as will be seen from the following verse :—

Page 252—“ यवैर्ब्रीहितिलैर्मषिर्गोधूमचणकैस्तथा ।

सन्तर्पयेत्पितृन्मुद्गैः श्यामाकैः सर्षपद्रवैः ॥ ’

According to Dr. Chaudhuri the गङ्गावाक्यावली was composed by विश्वासदेवी, the wife of पद्मसिंह King of Mithilā. After the death of पद्मसिंह, विश्वासदेवी came to the throne. विद्यापति was a senior contemporary of विश्वासदेवी who flourished in the 15th century A. D.

(48) The *Prakrit-Hindi Dictionary* पाइअ सह महणव (प्राकृत शब्द महर्णव) by Har Govindadasa makes the following entries about हरिमन्थ (= चणक) :—

Page 1186—हरिमन्थ (वे) काला चना; अन्नविशेष

Usages:—आ १८ (आह्वयप्रतिक्रमणसूत्रवृत्ति, D. B. P. Fund, Bombay, 1919)

—प्रव १५६ (प्रवचनसारोद्धार, ed. B. Manek)

—संबोध ४३ (संबोध प्रकरण, Ahmedabad 1916)

—दे ८, ७० टि (देशीनाममाला B. S. S.) See हरिमन्थ)

In *Reference No. 29* above I have already quoted the remarks of Hemacandra on हरिमन्थ. The word हरिमन्थ (or हरिमन्थ) has been evidently treated as a देशी word in the पा. स. महणव, though the *Amarakośa* records it as a synonym of चणक. We have also seen that the सुश्रुतसंहिता records the word हरिमन्थ (see *Reference No. 3 (ii)* above). In connection with these usages of the word हरिमन्थ or हरिमन्थ we must also investigate the relation, if any, of the Marathi word हरबरा or हरभरा with हरिमन्थ.

(49) In the शुक्रनीतिसार (ed. by Jivānanda Vidyasagara Calcutta, 1882) we find the following verse containing a reference to यव and चणक as the best horse-food. Page 480 (Chapter IV, 7th prakarana, verse 143).

“ यवाश्च चणका श्रेष्ठा मध्या माषा मकुष्ठकाः ।

नीचा मसूरा मुद्गाश्च भोजनार्थं तु वाजिनः ॥ १४३ ॥ ” .

Here यव and चणक have been given equal status as food for horses, somewhat like the statement of the अश्वार्युर्वेद of वाग्भट, son of विक्रम. However, while the अश्वार्युर्वेद allocates the superiority of यव, चणक, and मकुष्ठक to the regions between the ‘Himālayas and Vindhyas, the region to the south of Vindhyas and the western region, respectively the शुक्रनीतिसार merely states that यव and चणक are the best horse-food, माष and मकुष्ठक are of middle quality and मसूर and मुद्ग of the lowest quality as horse-food. Judging by this verse we may infer that this verse was composed at a time when चणक had attained a superior status as horse-food but यव had not been superseded by it.

(50) In his *Patna-Gaya Report* (A. D. 1811-1812) Francis Buchanan deals with leguminous plants. About चणक he observes :—

Pages 490-500 — “ the *Bul* or *Cicer Arietinum* is the most important leguminous crop.....It is chiefly reared near the Son and in the Southern parts of Sheikpurah, where the system of agriculture is very bad.....The variety called *Kabali*¹ -*bul*, which has a white flower is very scarce. That most generally cultivated has a red flower and is most commonly called *Chana*. ”

(51) विज्ञानेश्वर (A. D. 1070-1100) the author of the मिताक्षरा commentary on the याज्ञवल्क्य mentions the following articles as fit for श्राद्धहविः (oblation at a Śrāddha) :—

व्रीहि, शालि, यव, गोधूम, मुद्ग, माष, मुन्यन्न, कालशाक, महाशलक, पला, शुण्ठी, मरीच, हिङ्गु, गुड, शर्करा, कर्पूर, सैन्धव, सांभर, पनस, नालिकेर, कदली, बदर, गव्यपयः, दधि, घृत, पायस, मधु, मांस, etc.

He proscribes the use of the following articles on the authority of Smṛtis at a Śrāddha ceremony :—

¹ Cf. Parched and salted gram called काबली sold in Poona streets every Friday (The शब्दकोश calls this gram as पंढरे काबुली हरभरे).

कोद्व, मसूर, चणक, कुलित्थ, पुलाक, निष्पाव, राजमाष, कूष्माण्ड, वार्ताक, बृहतीद्वय, उपोदकी, वंशांकुर, पिप्पली, वचा, शतपुष्प, उषर, बिडाल, लवण, माहिष, चामर, क्षीर, दधि, घृत, पायस.

It is clear from the above statement that चणक had not attained the sanctity attached to यव and other grains at the time, when the मितक्षरा was composed.

(52) In his *History of Dharmaśāstra* (Vol. II, p. 784) Prof. P. V. Kane records the following quotation from the शङ्खलिविन (in the आह्निकप्रकाश, pp. 394 and 404) which allows the employment in offering to gods of all cereals except कोद्व, चणक (gram), माष, मसूर, कुलित्थ and उदालक :—

“आश्रमधर्म-अविरोधेन, प्रतिनियतानामोपधीनां
कोद्व-चणक-माष मसूर कुलित्थ उदालकवर्जं निर्वपणीयम् ॥

This reference to चणक as forbidden¹ food is in harmony with the remarks of विज्ञानेश्वर about चणक as a cereal proscribed for use in a Śrāddha ceremony.

(53) In the medical glossary धन्वन्तरिनिघण्टु supposed to be earlier than the *Amarakośa* चणक is mentioned in the following line :—

“(क) फासूक्पित्तं पुंस्त्वन्ना श्रृणका वानला हिमा ।”

(See folio 36 of Ms. No. 924 of 1884-87—धन्वन्तरिनिघण्टु dated Samvat 1698 (= A. D. 1642))

In Ms. No. 923 of 1884-87 of धन्वन्तरिनिघण्टु dated Śaka 1605 (= A. D. 1683) I could not trace the above line in the धान्यवर्ग (folios 66-68). There is, however, in this वर्ग another line which describes the properties of चणक as follows (folio 67)

“चणागुणाः । चणका वानलो रुक्षा विष्टम्भी पुंस्त्वनाशनः ।
स कषायो लघुः शीतः पित्तास्रकफनाशनः ॥”

In the printed text of the धन्वन्तरिनिघण्टु (Anandashram Sans.

¹ Prof. Kane records the following verse from ब्रह्मवर्णन (quoted in पृष्ठ. २, and आह्निक प्रकाश) which forbids the use of cereals such as राजमाष, शूलमुद्ग (= मेषा according to Prof. Kane) etc. :—

“राजभाषा स्थूलमुद्गास्तथा वृष्यवासकौ ।
मसूरः शतपुष्पाश्च कुसुम्भः श्रीनिकेतनम् ॥
सस्यान्येतान्यभक्ष्याणि न च देयानि कस्याचित् ॥”

Series, Poona, 1896) p. 6, we find the following line about चणक and its properties :—

“ चणका वर्तुला प्रोक्ता वातला रक्पित्ताः । ”

In spite of the textual variations the reference to चणक and its properties has continued to exist in the extracts given above.

(54) Dhundirāja in his *Gīrvāṇapadamanjari* (C. A. D. 1690-1710) mentions चणक as the product of Bengal along with व्रीहि, गोधूम, आढक्री (of two kinds), माष, मुद्ग, मसूर, राजमाष, कुलित्थ, लंका, तिल, खल्व, प्रियंगु, एणवः, नीवार, इयामाक, मंडवः, सर्षप, and पृथुक (Vide folios 13-18 of Ms No. 21 of 1919-1924 in the Govt. Mss Library, B. O. R. Institute, Poona.)¹

With a view to give the reader an idea about the antiquity of *Caṇaka* and its history as disclosed by the foregoing evidence I record below the chronology of the references so far collected by me :—

Chronology	Reference C = <i>Caṇaka</i> (Cicer Arietinum)
	C mentioned in the भेलसंहिता.
	C mentioned in the काश्यपसंहिता.
Between B. C. 200 and A. D. 300	C mentioned in the नाट्यशास्त्र of भरत for use in worship.
A. D. 100-200	C mentioned in the चरकसंहिता.
Before A. D. 300	C mentioned in the सुश्रुतसंहिता as कृधान्य. हरिमन्थन शाक is also mentioned in this work.
Between B. C. 200 and A. D. 300	C mentioned in the Jain Prakrit work <i>Pauma Cariya</i> as चणय growing in the <i>Ananti</i> country.
A. D. 200-300	C mentioned in the गुह्यसमाजतन्त्र.
A. D. 500	C mentioned in the बृहत्संहिता of वराहमिहिर. C (= चणअ) mentioned in the गाथासप्तशती of हाल. C mentioned in the पञ्चतन्त्र (मित्रभेद) as also the practice of frying it.

¹ See also my article on “ Glimpses into the Economic, Industrial and Social Life of Bengal as given by a Mahārāṣṭra Brahman of the Seventeenth Century ” in *Indian Culture*, Vol. XII, No. 2 (October-December, 1945) pp. 47-56.

Chronology	Reference C = Canaka (Cicer Arietinum)
Before A. D. 500	C mentioned in टाण्णगसुत्त of Jain canon (as चणइया). चणग mentioned in जम्बुद्वीपप्रज्ञप्ति also.
Between A. D. 500 and 800	C mentioned in the अमरकोश along with its synonym हरिमन्थक.
c. A. D. 625	C mentioned in the अष्टाङ्गसंग्रह of Vagbhata I.
A. D. 755-786	C (= चण) mentioned by दामोदरगुप्त of Kashmir in his (कुटुम्बीयत).
A. D. 700-900	C mentioned in the अष्टाङ्गहृदय of Vagbhata II.
Before A. D. 800	C and its properties mentioned in the धन्वतरि- निघण्टु.
A. D. 800-900	C mentioned in the अग्निपुगण — It is forbidden in religious fasts but recommended as food for Horses.
Before A. D. 1000	C recommended for horses in the अश्वचिकित्सित of नकुल.
Before A. D. 1000	C used as food for elephants according to हस्यायुर्वेद of पालकाप्य.
Before A. D. 1000	C as food for Horses mentioned in अश्वायुर्वेद of वारभट (son of विक्रम).
c. A. D. 1050	C (= चण) mentioned in the वैजयन्ती lexicon of यादवप्रकाश.
c. A. D. 1050	C mentioned by क्षीरस्वामिन on Amarakośa, among 17 edible grains.
A. D. 1060	C mentioned by चक्रपाणिदन in his द्रव्यगुणसंग्रह.
A. D. 1100	C mentioned in मुरमुंदरीचरित्र.
A. D. 1130	C mentioned in the मानसोल्लास of सोमेश्वर as food for men, pigs and fish.
A. D. 1143	C (= चणग) mentioned in सुपासनाहचरित्र.
A. D. 1159	C mentioned by सर्वानन्द on Amarakośa.
A. D. 1070-1100	C prohibited at a भ्रातृ by विज्ञानेश्वर in his मिताक्षरा.
A. D. 1088-1172	C and its synonym हरिमन्थ mentioned in the देहीनाममाला of हेमचन्द्र.

Chronology	Reference
	<i>C</i> = <i>Canaka</i> (<i>Cicer Arietinum</i>)
c. A. D. 1250	<i>C</i> (= चण) mentioned in the Marathi Mahā-nubhāva text लीळाचरित्र.
A. D. 1307	<i>C</i> used in Jaina ritual according to विधिप्रपा of जिनप्रभमुरि.
Between A. D. 800 and 1300	<i>C</i> mentioned in the शुक्रनृतिसार as best horse-food like यव.
	<i>C</i> mentioned in the शाङ्गधरसंहिता.
c. A. D. 1450	<i>C</i> mentioned by विश्वासदेवी in her गङ्गावाक्यावली. among grains to be offered by a pilgrim for a श्राद्ध.
c. A. D. 1450	<i>C</i> mentioned in the राजनिघण्टु of नरहरि (in Kashmir). The pulse of चणक is called दाली
A. D. 1475	<i>C</i> (= pease used for preparing Kichiri or खिचडी) --see <i>Hobson-Jobson</i> .
c. A. D. 1550	<i>C</i> mentioned in the भावप्रकाश of भावमिश्र.
A. D. 1500-1650	<i>C</i> mentioned in the आकाशभैरवकल्प as being stored in a धान्यकोष्ठ or granary.
A. D. 1500	<i>C</i> (= chick-peas) as food for Horses of Vijayanagar according to <i>Barbosa</i> .
A. D. 1513 onwards	<i>C</i> (= gram) references in <i>Hobson-Jobson</i> .
A. D. 1660	<i>C</i> and its pulse दगल mentioned in the कल्पद्रुकांश
A. D. 1641-1668	<i>C</i> used for Horses according to Tavernier's <i>Travels</i> .
c. A. D. 1700	<i>C</i> mentioned among Bengal grams by धुण्डिराज in his गीर्वाणपद्मञ्जरी.
A. D. 1811	<i>C</i> and its varieties mentioned by Francois Buchanan in his <i>Patna-Gaya Report</i> .

The cumulative effect of the evidence recorded in this paper proves the history of *Canaka* for about 2000 years on Indian soil. Some features of this history are as follows :-

(1) Some of the earliest medical texts like those of चरक, सुश्रुत, भेल and काश्यप record the properties of चणक and their statements are more or less repeated in later medical texts.

(2) The synonym हरिमन्थ for चणक used by सुश्रुत is mentioned by अमर and repeated by subsequent lexicons.

(3) सुश्रुत calls चणक as a कुधान्य. Its use at a श्राद्ध ceremony was prohibited by *Smritis* as stated by विज्ञानेश्वर (c. A. D. 1100). In the 15th century, however, we find it as fit for a श्राद्ध at a holy place according to गङ्गावाक्यावलि of विश्वासद्वी.

(4) चणक is not mentioned as food for horses by the अर्थशास्त्र of कौटिल्य, in which यव is prescribed as part of horse regimen. Some time after about A. D. 500 चणक began to be produced in large quantities and was adopted as horse-food as vouched by the horse-treatises of जयदत्त, नकुल, वाग्भट (son of विक्रम) and others. As expressly stated by वाग्भट in his अश्वसुर्वेद (चणकाविधि) चणक was used as horse-food below the Vindhya mountains, while यव was used for the horses between the Himālayas and the Vindhyas in his time.

(5) चणक is mentioned in the Jain Canonical works like the ठाणगसुत्त and the जंबुद्वीपप्रज्ञप्ति as also in later Jaina works in Prakrit like the सुरसुंदरीचरित्र and the सुपासनाहचरित्र of the 12th century and in the विधिप्रपा of जिनप्रभ (A. D. 1307).

(6) After about 1000 A. D. यव fell into back-ground and चणक took its place both as food for horses and men along with wheat and other grains of antiquity.

In view of the above history of चणक for a period of about 2000 years from Sanskrit and Prakrit sources we are tempted to inquire if चणक was indigenous to India prior to the Christian Era. In this connection I record below the following history of चणक (*Cicer Arielinum*) as recorded by Watt in his *Dictionary of Economic Products of India*, Vol. II, Calcutta, 1889, pp. 227-275:-

Habitat— Extensively cultivated as a rabi crop, throughout India, especially in the Northern Provinces.

This is *Cicer* of the Romans, and the parched seed as an article of food with the poor is alluded to by Horace¹ (*Cicer Frictum*).

¹ Horace, the Roman poet was born on 8th December, B. C. 65 and died on 17th November, B. C. S. (Vide pp. 270-271 of *Smaller Classical Dictionary* — Home University Library, London, 1913).

It is also the *Erebinthos*¹ of Dioscorides.² The botanical specific name owes its origin to a not altogether fanciful resemblance of the seed, when first forming in the pod to a ram's head (the *Krios* of the Greeks). The English name "*gram*" is applied to a totally different product in the Madras Presidency, where it denotes the seed of the plant known in the other provinces as *Kurti* (*Dolichos biflorus*) (Duthie and Fuller, *Field and Garden Crops*, I, 33). In Madras *D. Biflorus* is more correctly horsegram, two forms of *Phaseolus Mungo* being known as "black and green gram" and *Cicer* as "Bengal gram." These terms are, however, unknown in other provinces.

History—The Chick-pea was thus known to the Greeks in Homer's time³ under the name *Erebinthos* and to the Romans as *Cicer*; and the existence of other widely different names shows that it was early known and *perhaps indigenous to the South-east of Europe*. It is supposed that the Chick-pea has been cultivated in *Egypt* from the very earliest times of the Christian era and was perhaps considered common or unclean like the bean and lentil. But it is most likely that the pea was introduced into *Egypt* as well as among the *Jews* from Greece or Italy. Its *Introduction into India* is of more early date for there is a Sanskrit name and several other names in modern Indian languages. "The *Western Aryans* (*Pelasgians, Hellenes*) perhaps introduced the plant into *Southern Europe*, where, however, there is some probability that it was also *indigenous*. The *Western Aryans* carried it into *India*. Its area may have extended from Persia to Greece and the species now exists only in cultivated ground, where we do not know whether it springs from a stock originally wild or from cultivated plants" (*De. Orig. Cult. Pl.*).

On the strength of the above remarks we can represent the chronology of चणक or हरिमन्थ prior to the Christian era as follows:—

¹ Has the Greek word *Erebinthos* for चणक any connection with हरिमन्थ used by सुश्रुत as a synonym for चणक?

² *Dioscorides*, a Greek physician of the 2nd century A. D., author of an extant work on *Materia Medica*, which for many ages was received as a standard production. (*Sm. Clas. Dict.* p. 197).

³ Homer's date is about 850 B. C. (see p. 268 of *Sm. Clas. Dict.*),

B. C. 1000-800— चणक or इरिन्थ (Greek, *Erebinthos*) in time of Homer.

B. C. 521-485— *Darius I* ruled Persia — His wars against Greece — “ The direct acquaintance of the western nations with *India* dates from the reign of *Darius* ” (*Smith : Sm. Clas. Dict.* p. 280).

B. C. 326— Expedition of *Alexander the Great* against *India*.

B. C. 305— Invasion of *Seleukos Nikator* against *Candragupta* Maurya and conclusion of a humiliating peace with *Candragupta* in *B. C. 303*.

B. C. 298-273— Indian Emperor *Bindusūra* (father of *Asoka* the Great) corresponds with *Antiochus Soter* of Syria and gets figs and raisin wine.

B. C. 190-c. A. D. 20— Greek occupation of Panjab.

B. C. 65-8— The Roman poet *Horace* refers to *Cicer* (चणक) as an article of food with the poor.

B. C. 100-A. D. 300— References to चणक in earliest Indian medical texts in Sanskrit of भेद, चरक, सुश्रुत and काश्यप as also in the Jaina canonical and other Prakrit texts.

Presuming that Southern Europe comprising Greece and Italy was the native habitat of चणक, from which it was taken to Egypt in the earliest times of the Christian era, and further that चणक was taken to India by the Western Aryans (Hellenes) as observed by *DeCandolle*, we may tentatively draw the following conclusions :—

(1) If चणक was introduced into India during the reign of *Darius I* of Persia (*B. C. 521-485*) this introduction must have been possibly through Persia on account of the constant military contact of Persia with Greece at this time.

(2) If चणक was introduced into India after the invasion of *Alexander the Great* in *B. C. 326*, it would be reasonable to

suppose that it was introduced most probably during the Greek occupation of Panjab (B. C. 190—c. A. D. 20). This conclusion is in harmony with the references to चणक in the earliest medical texts of भेल, चरक, सुश्रुत and काश्यप, which appear to have been composed between c. B. C. 200 and A. D. 300. Foreigners staying in India for more than two centuries may have introduced some plants of their home land into India. Such of these plants as found congenial soil in India became naturalised while others dropped out of Indian cultivation.

(3) It is for Greek and Latin scholars to say, if the use of चणक as horse-food was current in Greece and Italy say between B. C. 1000 and A. D. 300. If no evidence can prove this point we may reasonably infer that the use of चणक as horse-food was evolved by Indians some time after about A. D. 500.

REVELATIONS OF THE FIRST STANZA OF
THE MAHĀBHĀRATA *

BY

P. R. CHIDAMBARA IYER, B.A.

It is indeed a privilege to be able to appear before you with something by way of a topic connected with the Mahābhārata, on which splendid and laborious work has been done by many of you and is still being done at this Institute, and I am thankful to the authorities of the Institute for allowing me to enjoy that privilege by calling upon me to speak on this occasion. With such slender equipment as I possess in respect of scholarship in Sanskrit or knowledge of the Mahābhārata text, it may perhaps appear presumptuous on my part, or even foolhardy, to venture on such a task, but my excuse is that it is not my intention to encroach upon your preserves of learning, but to remain well without and to point to a certain something, the existence of which has not, so far as I know, even been suspected before.

It would appear that for the past 5000 years or so we have been keeping in our possession a jewel-box or a secret panel, as it were, under the impression that it is but the conventional tablet carrying a conventional legend, not even originally put up but supplied long after the edifice to which it relates had been constructed. I mean that trite, innocent-looking benedictory verse of the Mahābhārata :

नारायणं नमस्कृत्य नरं चैव नरोत्तमम् ।

देवीं सरस्वतीं चैव ततो जयमुदीरयेत् ॥

My function here is only that of a small, thin knife-blade, just to prize open the lid of the box and reveal the contents. The jewels inside, if they are such, are yours, and it is for you to estimate their value with all the expert knowledge at your command.

When I started on formulating my ideas for this paper, I had what I should consider a very good augury. I wanted to see the previous commentaries and articles on this verse, and I was

* This paper was read on 6th July 1946, on the Foundation Day of the Institute.

directed by Prof. Gode to the article *Tatō Jayam Udirayet* by Prof. Sylvain Levy, translated by Mr. Khare, in the first volume of the Annals of this Institute. But the very first thing that my eyes fell on was the concluding paragraph of the Inaugural Address of Sir Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, which I reproduce here with great pleasure. It ran as follows :—

“In conclusion I am happy to say that notwithstanding the disadvantages under which we labour, critical scholarship has been steadily advancing amongst us. In recent years, I have had several papers from the Madras Presidency, the writers of which show considerable critical acumen and skill, and I have full hope that our work here and in the Madras Presidency will put an end to the disparaging tone in which the European scholars speak of us, and compel their approval and even their admiration”.

I need not say that I took this as a direct encouragement in advance by the patriotic and catholic spirit of Kulapati Sir Ramakrishna.

My first direct contact with the Mahābhārata began with the English translation of the Epic by Pratap Candra Roy, a new edition of which was brought out by Messrs. Datta Bose & Co. Calcutta, in 1919, the very year in which the Critical Edition of the Epic was inaugurated at this Institute. The work was issued in monthly parts and when I took up the first part with great expectation and read the first sentence :

“Om ! Having bowed to Narāyaṇa and Nara, the most exalted male being, and also to the Goddess Saraswati, must the word *Jaya* be uttered.”

I felt disappointed. It did not satisfy my common sense. The sense of inanity and insufficiency and incongruity for the introduction of the great Epic bore down on me, and I could not help feeling that there must be something wrong. I sought help of some pundits, but all that I could get from them was that the verse was not a mere prayer, but a mantra, that *Jaya* was also the name of the Mahābhārata and that mantras being Ṛsīprōkta nobody would closely look into their meaning. This meant that, if anything that could not be explained be raised to the status of

a mantra, all reasoning and logic and enquiry must stop. So my difficulty remained unsolved.

After my coming to Poona, my contact with this Institute and its workers naturally revived my interest in the Mahābhārata, and my old discontent against the verse नारायणं नमस्कृत्य &c., or rather its interpretation, must have begun to smoulder again in the subconscious levels. But as new discoveries and new ideas have a perversity of coming by chance or when the authors least expect them or expect even the contraries, the key to the difficulty came to me quite of a sudden. I was collecting materials for an Article on the origin of the Kollam or Malayālam Era, which a certain writer had connected with the Paraśurāma Era. In that connection, I had to read some of the Mahābhārata articles of Dr. Sukthankar, especially those relating to the Bhṛgu and Paraśurāma. I had also to examine some of the chronograms, relating to important ancient events, preserved in Malabar. They give the Kali-Savana day, or the Ahargana from the beginning of Kali Yuga, of the respective events in the well known कटपयाद्वि alphabetical system of notation described in the following śloka :—

नञावचश्च शून्यानि संख्याः कटपयादयः ।

मिश्रेतृपान्तद्वलसंख्या न च चिन्त्यो हलस्वरः ॥

Although according to this system any word, phrase, verse, passage or even the whole of the Mahābhārata, can be converted into figures, it is obvious that its use has to be for definite purposes and in accordance with recognised conventions. For instance, a chronogram is usually so cleverly framed that it briefly describes or indicates the event in question, while at the same time yielding the *ahargana* of it. The Kollam Era of Kēraḷa is believed to have originated with the return of Śrī Saṅkarācārya to Malabar and the adoption of his Smṛti by the Nambūdiri Brāhmaṇas at a special meeting held to honour the Guru. This is given by the chronogram आचार्यवागमेया, equivalent to Sāvana day 1434160 from 0 Kali Yuga, or 824 A. D. as the year of the event. Similarly when the traditional Brāhmaṇa rulers to whom Paraśurāma was supposed to have entrusted the administration of the land of Kēraḷa decided to set up a monarchy and invited and installed as king a Perumāḷ from the country

east of the Ghats, that event was recorded in the chronogram भूमस्तुषोयं प्राप्य, corresponding to the Kali Sāvana day 1211454 or 216 A. D. When Narāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa¹ of Malabar finished his famous नारायणीयम् with the expression आयुरारोग्यसौख्यं at the end of the last śloka of the work, indicating thereby that he regained his health by the grace of the deity of Guruvāyūr before whom he composed it, he also gave in the expression the date of the work as 1712210 or 1585 A. D. The notation was used not only for chronograms but to record any number. In the work सद्गन्तमाला the value of 11¹⁷ is given to 17 decimal places in the expression भद्रांबुधिसिद्धजन्मगणितश्राद्धाश्मयद्भुवर्गः = 3.14159265358979324. The South Indian musical scales are classified into 72 primary Mēals, 36 with शुद्धमध्यम and the next 36 with प्रति or तीव्रमध्यम replacing the former, but not many know that the names of the Mela Rāgas are so coined that the first two letters of each name indicate the order of the Rāga in the table. The 4th Rāga has the name वनस्पति (वन = 04), the 22nd in the list is called खरहरप्रिय (खर = 22), while its corresponding Pratimadhyama Rāga 58th in the list has the name हेमवती (हेम = 58). The familiar Vākyas for Pañcāṅga calculations attributed to the astronomer Vararuci are all in कटपयादि system. I am afraid I have digressed too long on this, but I wish to make it clear that this system and its uses are an institution which has come down to us from the hoary past and not sprung up all of a sudden in any one part of India to the exclusion of the rest. It may be that it has dropped out of use and is even forgotten in certain parts of our country, but, luckily, it is still in active use in the South, especially in Malabar, largely in astrological practice in expressing the Kalisāvana day of birth and the planetary sphutas and other quantities.

¹ Narayana Bhatta is known to have given the dates of his other works also in the same fashion. He was reputed to be a master in the use of the Kaṭapayādi system. The following śloka describing a flood in the Bhārata River and giving the Kalidinasamkhyā of it backwards and forwards alternately is said to be by him :

$$\text{नदीपुष्टिरसह्यानु} = 01721180 = 1610 \text{ A. D.}$$

$$\text{नद्यासारंपयोजनी} = 08112710$$

$$\text{विजात्कुटीरास्तायल्ले} = 01721180$$

$$\text{नद्यार्षाः प्रययुर्जनाः} = 08112780$$

Probably as the combined effect of reading the Mahābhārata articles, the latent protest in my mind against the accepted commentaries on ततो जयमुदीरयेत् and my preoccupation with the कटपयादि notation, one night, a few months ago, it flashed across my mind like a shaft of light in a dream that जय meant 18, which, on waking, I found to be the case according to the code we are discussing. It is known that dreams are but the integrated or resultant pictures of experiences and problems of the past, more especially of the recent past, and the idea forced itself on me that this had something to do with the word *Jaya* in the Mahābhārata, the number of parvans in which is 18. It is known that the Purāṇas are also collectively called *Jaya* and they are also 18 in number. This cannot be a chance connection and I felt that here was at last a key thrown to us from the Unknown. To our ancients 9 and 18 were mystic numbers, and it is not unnatural if they designated the number 18 with the word *Jaya*, which the code conveniently gives. It is said that the Vaiṣṇavadharmas and Śivadharmas are also called *Jaya*. I do not know what they are, but in the light of the connection between the word and the number, we need not be surprised, if they are also 18. *

On further thought along the same line, we find that there is a special design or appropriateness in giving the name *Jaya* to the Mahābhārata. For the associations of the Epic with the number 18 strike one to be rather too numerous to be merely casual. Let me enumerate some instances :

- 1 The Epic contains 18 parvans.
- 2 The book of books, the Gītā, contains 18 chapters.
- 3 The Bhārata War was fought for 18 days.
- 4 There were 18 Akṣauhiṇis engaged in the conflict.
- 5 Look at the units of the armies: I shall take only two.

1 Akṣauhiṇī consists of				1 Camū consists of			
Chariots	21,870	:	18		729	:	18
Elephants	21,870	:	18		729	:	18
Horse	65,610	:	18		2187	:	18
Foot	109,350	:	18		3645	:	18

The numbers are all multiples of 9, but the digits when added together give 18.

6 The principal blood relations or the persons directly interested in the conflict were 108 (6 times 18), viz. Bhīṣma, Dhṛtarāṣṭra, the 100 Kauravas, the 5 Pāṇḍavas and Karna. All the rest were accessories.

7 Yudhiṣṭhira is supposed to have died at the ripe old age of 108, as noted by Dr. Sukthankar, who draws attention to the mystic number.

There may be many more instances of 18, if we only look for them, but I hope these are enough to establish that the poet must have purposively used the name *Jaya* for the *Mahābhārata* in order to characterise it as pre-eminently a book of 18 and also as a work describing the triumph of dharma or the Pāṇḍavas. When the real meaning of *Jaya* was not known, the only way to explain it was to treat it as a mystic syllable to be uttered as a mantra and so the word *udīrayēt* was also given its secondary meaning of " may be uttered " or " should be uttered ". Since we have now come by the poet's real meaning for the word, it loses its mystic character, and the interpretation "the word *Jaya* should be uttered " becomes pointless, and the verb demands its primary meaning of *causing to come out* or *issue*.

If we now read the sentence ततो जयमुदीरयेत् in this light, viz. " hence may this book of 18 or the 18 parvans arise ", the question naturally suggests itself, कुतो जयमुदीरयेत् ? And the answer is of course, from नारायणं नमस्कृत्य &c. This means that the author wants to make a further communication to us. Here we must remind ourselves that we have a great advantage over the foreign investigators in that we are the continued possessors of the cultural traditions of this country, which are of great importance in interpretation. It behoves us to exploit these traditions fully. We have been helped already to discover why the poet gave the name *Jaya* to the Epic. The old pundits who said that the śloka was a mantra were really the repositories of a valuable tradition. Only, they tried to find the mantra in the wrong place, following the lead of the commentaries.

It is clear that the whole of the verse is not a mantra, but it can be a mantra in the sense that it might have a mantra interwoven or concealed in it. We have examples of such in the famous Āṇandalahari. It was thought till now that the word

Jaya was a mantra to be uttered or repeated, but we have seen that it is not. So we have to look for the mantra elsewhere in the verse and try to disentangle it from the rest of the verbiage.

In connection with a comparative study of Suggestion and Autosuggestion and Mantra Śāstra, I have had occasion to examine a large number of mantras, not the Vēda mantras, but what may be called the Upāsana mantras. There are mantras for the achievement of anything the human mind desires, general welfare and spiritual advancement by cultivating an iṣṭadēvatā, success and prosperity by developing personal magnetism, as the modern writers would put it, developing special powers, or attaining definite objects such as, for instance, even making money. But the general features are that for each mantra there is a particular deity, suitably conceived, and the mantras have a typical form. Take the simplest, the well known Śivapañcākṣara mantra. It has the form नमदिशवाय. Another simple mantra is नमो नारायणाय. Some begin or end with Namaḥ, some end with the mystic word स्वाहा, some others begin with Namaḥ and end with Svāhā. There are also bījas in the majority of cases. If we remember the typical form, we can sift out the mantra in the verse. It is like this: नारायणं नरं नरोत्तमं देवीं सरस्वतीं नमः, and as a check we find that the syllables in the mantra sifted out also happen to be 18. Indeed the poet is so subtle that he even seems to suggest that as a first step, doing Narāyaṇam Naram Narōttamam &c. Namaḥ ought to yield *Jaya* or 18, that is to say 18 syllables. One cannot help seeing in this verse the hand of a master craftsman and genius.

Now on examining the grouping of letters in the mantra, we find that there are three long groups with 12 letters and three short groups with 6 letters. We know that in the Epic there are long parvans as well as short parvans. If we set an arbitrary limit of 2000 verses, whatever the edition, to mark off the long ones from the short, we shall find that there are 12 long parvans and 6 short ones. I cannot say whether the author really intended this, but I am just mentioning it as something interesting.

The matter does not stop here, however. It is remarkable how this cunning hand tempts us with clues to go deeper and

deeper. If we look at the mantra closely once again, we find that there is something rather out of the way in it. While every mantra contemplates only one deity, its own, this mantra is addressed to three. I have not come across an upāsana mantra envisaging more than one. There is one known as Śrī Vidyā Gōpālam in which the Śrī Vidyā mantra is interwoven with the Gōpāla mantra so as to make a composite one of 32 letters, but even here the deity is only one. So we have to infer that the poet is not giving us a real mantra but something else camouflaged in the form of a mantra. We know we are dealing with a master mind, in whose scheme the number 18 seems to be our master key or password. Let us follow the words closely or rather literally. With these great poets even the order of the words have a design, although the simple Anuṣṭubh metre will easily admit of different arrangements. He says first *Nārāyaṇam Namaskṛtya* then he says *Naram Caiva Narōttamam*, by which we must understand *Naram Namaskṛtya* and *Narōttamam Namaskṛtya*. So the plan is to repeat *Namaskṛtya* with *Dēvīm* and *Sarasvatīm* also. We shall then have the following arrangement :

नारायणं नमस्कृत्य	}	ततो जयमुदीरयेत्
नरं नमस्कृत्य		
नरोत्तमं नमस्कृत्य		
देवीं नमस्कृत्य		
सरस्वतीं नमस्कृत्य		

When *Jaya* has the meaning 18, standing for 18 parvans or the 18-parvane book or even the mere number 18, how can that be made to come out of *Namaskāra* or obeisance done to *Nārāyaṇa* and others? So the author cannot mean God *Nārāyaṇa* nor the usual *Namaskāra*, नारायणं न, नरं न, नरोत्तमं न, देवीं न, सरस्वतीं न—, not *Narayana*, nor *Nara*, nor *Narottama*, nor *Devī* nor *Sarasvatī*, but नारायणं, नरं, नरोत्तमं, देवीं and सरस्वतीं, meaning the numbers they represent. (We can even see a subtle humour here on the part of this master of *śleṣa*.) And *म* being the number 5, the remaining part clearly means पञ्चकृत्वा, 'having made 5 times.' We have also to see whether this arrangement answers the key 18. Let us see the new arrangement and the interpretation:

नारायणं मस्कृत्य	05120 × 5	(8)	The numbers within
नरं मस्कृत्य	020 × 5	(2)	brackets are the
नरात्तमं मस्कृत्य	05620 × 5	(4)	sums of the digits
देवीं मस्कृत्य	048 × 5	(3)	in the main numbers
सरस्वतीं मस्कृत्य	06127 × 5	(1)	to be multiplied.

$$17235 \times 5 (18) : 86175 (9)$$

It will be seen that the "18-plan" of the author is evident throughout, and that is a guarantee that we are on the right track. The author's meaning now is that the result of the suggested operation namely, the number 86175, gives rise to जय जयास्वमितिहासं, the 18-parvaned book or the 18 parvans. What can this be except that 86175 ślokas go to form the 18 parvans? In the table on page 424 of the Sukthankar Memorial Volume I, the number of verses as calculated from the Parvasaṁgraha Parvan of the Critical Edition is given as 82,136 and the number as derived from the Southern Recension of the Epic is shown as 95,586. Now in view of the author's plan revealed throughout, the one test of their correctness is to see whether they are multiples of 9 or 18 or give 18 as the sum of the digits. It is inconceivable that the number of ślokas in the Epic can be one which does not answer this test, and we see that neither of these two numbers answers it. The number 86,175, lying between the above two numbers and very near the estimate of the Parvasaṁgraha Parvan of the Critical Edition, exceeding it only by 4039 verses, seems to give us the correct number of verses to be looked for in the Mahābhārata. The Southern Recension has 9411 verses more than this number. It therefore seems reasonable to conclude that the Southern Recension is a grossly adulterated version and the Critical Edition has made an underestimate involving a loss of 4039 ślokas.

But what are the numbers 5120, 20, 5620, 48 and 6427, and why are they each asked to be multiplied by 5? If the number 86,175 represents the total number of verses, it is possible that these numbers refer to something within the body of the Epic. Or they may be no more than a device to arrive at the words Nārāyaṇam Namaṣkṛtya &c. for the necessary benedictory śloka. Since, however, this is the work of a wizard, I do not wish to

leave out mentioning even the wildest guess that may be permitted. They may be checks at different and unexpected points and each check may occur 5 times before we reach the end of the Epic. The poet must have realised that, as a work on Dharma, it would be liable to be misused by ambitious poetasters and scheming religious partisans, and that safeguards should be provided against inferior and unauthorised matter being smuggled in. But since we know that the text has been grossly tampered with, it is unlikely that the checks can be found intact, but some vestiges might remain and can be detected by those who are thoroughly familiar with the text. I hope the future will reveal what these figures really indicate.

Let us now turn to the last quarter of the śloka, ततो जयमुदीरयेत्, on which much has been written, quite out of point, by commentators eastern and western. Each claimed that he "had brought light into places where everybody before had walked into impenetrable darkness". Prof. Sylvain Lévi, after expatiating on the relation of Nara and Nārāyaṇa and on Kṛṣṇa being synonymous with धर्म and जय, gives the meaning :

"While adoring Nārāyaṇa and Nara the best of males, and also the Goddess Sarasvatī, may one make victory issue therefrom !"

and triumphantly and in self-complacence commits himself into the statement, "If the interpretation I propose is correct, then all the laborious superstructures scaffolded around the Mahābhārata fall to pieces". I leave it to the reader to judge whether any light has been brought into the impenetrable darkness or more futile scaffolding has been erected by the western savant. As far as I am concerned, between the previous explanations and his, it is six of the one and half-a-dozen of the other. But it is noteworthy that Prof. Lévi has felt the necessity to give the verb 'udīr' its primary meaning of 'to issue'. And that is an attempt to move out of the rut.

I would here request the commentators and editors of the Mahābhārata to consider whether in the whole range of Indian authorship. Sanskrit as well as vernacular, they can find a single instance of the author in his prayer śloka issuing an edict like "should the word *Jaya* be uttered" or "may one make victory

issue therefrom." The author being preoccupied with himself and the proper performance of his work, is it not an established, regular *sampradāya* to invoke the blessings in reference to his work? Take any instance at random say, श्रीरामोदन्त. The author says :

श्रीपतिं प्रणिपत्याहं श्रीवत्साङ्गितवक्षसं ।

श्रीरामोदन्तमाख्यास्ये श्रीवाल्मीकिप्रकीर्तितम् ॥

Another author has वाग्देवता सा मयि संनिधत्ताम्. The benedictory sloka of a work on hand-poses in dancing, हस्तलक्षणदीपिका runs thus :

वाग्देवं नमस्कृत्य भासुराकारमीश्वरम् ।

हस्तमुद्राभिधानादीन् विस्तरेण ब्रवीम्यहम् ॥

And wherefrom could this *sampradāya* have started except from an आदिकाव्य like the Mahābhārata? So is it not more natural to suppose that the author of the Epic must have said जयमुदीरये meaning 'I issue this work *Jaya*'? So to my mind the very first interpolation seems to have taken place in the first śloka itself in *Udīraye* being converted into *Udīrayēt*. And that was because the meaning of *Jaya* having been lost, *Udīraye* with its primary meaning looked absurd, as no author could claim to issue victory or cause victory to issue. So *Jaya* was given the dignity of a mantra and *udīraye* changed into *udīrayēt*, so that it might be a direction for others to repeat the mantra. Now that the real meaning has been found, I hope we shall revert to what should have been the original reading, *Udīraye*.

We have not finished yet. The poet has a still greater surprise to be sprung on us. There has been an age-long war over the question as to when the work was written, whether in the last centuries of B. C. or the early centuries of A. D. In this the most grudging minds have been those of the European scholars. I cannot help feeling that owing to their superior and condescending attitude, perhaps natural and unconscious, towards this subject country and its civilization, they have given a biased and wrong lead, which we have had to follow rather unquestioningly, since all research done by us had to receive the seal of approval of the west. I fancy they would rather unanimously vote for the grant of independence to India than acknowledge the antiquity of her civilization. But this search for the date seems to be like the story of the good old lady

who lost her needle inside her house, but went out and searched for it in the street, because there was no light inside the house. For surprisingly enough, the work itself declares on what day it was sent out into the world, the author has put his date stamp on it. If we give *Tataḥ* a time value, which it readily admits of, then what follows is a beautiful chronogram. The wizard says जयमुदीरये, 'I issue *Jaya*' and those very words form into a declaration of the day on which the work receives publicity. For जयमुदीरये or even जयमुदीरयेत् is equal to 128518 in *Katāpayādi* notation, as the *Kalisavapa* day of the occurrence, which gives 351 years 10 months and 18 days. The completed years are solar and the months and days are according to the usual lunar calculation prevalent from olden times. This is equivalent to *Māgha Bahula Tṛtīyā* of the 352nd year of *Kali Yuga*. As *Kali Yuga* began in 3102 B. C. this gives the year 2751 B. C. The day *Bahula Tṛtīyā* is again significant, as it is the 18th day of the month, i. e. the work *Jaya* was published on the day *Jaya*— a further confirmation of the poet's '18-plan'.

It is well known that in India, from time immemorial, nothing religious or secular is undertaken without fixing an auspicious time for it or a *muhūrta* as indicated by the heavenly bodies. The science of *Jyōtiṣa* is called the eye of the *Vēda*. *Mahābhārata* itself contains many references to *muhūrtas* observed for various things. Hence it would be a test of the genuineness of this chronogram to see what kind of day it was astronomically. Was there anything special about this day from the *muhūrta* point of view? With the help of *Swamikannu Pillai's Ephemeris*, I worked out the planetary positions about sunrise on that day. They are given below and are entered in the chart.

Sun	15° in	Makara
Moon	21°	Simha, in Pūrva Phālgunī
Mars	7°	Mesa
Mercury	24°	Dhanus
Jupiter	12°	Dhanus
Venus	29°	Kumbha
Saturn	18°	Kumbha
Rāhu	22°	Vṛscika
Ketu	22°	Ṛṣabha.

The form of the chart is that in use in South India:

12	1 Mars	2 Ketu	3
Venus Saturn 11	The cast of the planets on the 18th day of Māgha month of the year 352nd Kali, being the day of inauguration of the Mahābhārata, as given by the chronogram जयमुदीये.		4
Sun 10			Moon Lagna 5
Merc. Jupiter 9	Rāhu 8	7	6

It will be readily seen that the three major planets Mars, Jupiter and Saturn are very powerfully situated, as they are in their own houses, which are also their Mūlatrākōna ones. Venus and Saturn are in combination in Kumbha, Budha and Brhaspati are in combination in Dhanus. With this cast of the planets, it is very interesting to deduce what was the time or muhūrta at which the actual launching ceremony could have been performed. As far as I can see, the time of Simha Lagna would be the best, securing the most benefic aspects and bhāvas of the planets. But on the day indicated, tṛtīyā ends after sunrise and so when Simha Lagna comes it would be caturthī and the Nakṣatra is also Pūrva Phalgunī, both of which are not favourable. But the previous evening it would be tṛtīyā and the Nakṣatra would have been the very auspicious Maghā and that would be rising at about 9 P. M. The Lagna is aspected by Jupiter from the 5th. Jupiter also aspects the ninth bhāva. The lord of the Lagna Sun is in the 6th, and 8th house is vacant, which is important for

a muhūrta. Those who are familiar with astrology and muhūrtas will, I hope, easily recognise the excellence of this time for such an occasion. It is also an important day in the year, Maghā in the month of Māgha. The time of moon rise that day would also be very convenient for the public to assemble at a place to hear the great Epic recited for the first time. So we may take it, I hope, that the reality and reliability of the chronogram are beyond the possibility of doubt. Of course it should be remembered that we are making calculations from the mean movements of planets and it is surprising that we have got so near the ideal conditions which should have been existent on the indicated day.

From all the above we see that what appeared to be an inane prayer verse has at last proved to be a real and monumental preface to the Mahābhārata, the mightiest epic in any literature in the world. The various points may now be assembled here and the outer and slēsa meanings of the ślōka given as follows:—

Apparent meaning: Having bowed to Nārāyaṇa and Nara the best of males, and also the Goddess Sarasvatī, I issue¹ (by recitation) *Jaya* (the itihāsa which depicts the victory of the Pāṇdavas or of dharma).

Inner meaning: Having made verses 86,175, which number is got by the operation Nārāyaṇam-namaskṛtya &c, I raise 18 parvans therefrom, then I issue (by recitation) the 18-parvanted itihāsa or the book of 18 on the 18th day of Māgha of the 352nd year of Kali-Yuga given by the Kalisāvana day 128518.

From the fact that this verse is not found in any of the copies of the S. Recension, but only in those of the Northern, Dr. Sukthankar has suggested that this prayer ślōka was probably composed by the Vaiṣṇavas of the 6th century A. D. for their other works and that they inserted it in their copies of the Mahābhārata also. If the contents of the verse, as revealed now, are worthy of acceptance, it is clear that the truth must be the other way round. Namely, that the Vaiṣṇavas not being aware of the real meaning of this genuine Mahābhārata verse blindly adopted it as the prayer ślōka of all their other works. But the

¹ The author has cleverly used *udīraye* to indicate that the issuing is done by utterance or recitation.

deadliest argument against this suggestion of a Vaiṣṇava origin for this verse is that the same Kaṭapayādi system is carried right into the body of the Epic to record at least the dates of important events or landmarks. As a preliminary attempt, I have been able to locate and decipher a few prominent landmarks, so that it is clear that the first verse and the Epic together form an organic whole and stand together and that, if they fall, they have to fall together.

I tried only a few major events of the closing periods of Mahābhārata history. The first landmark that claimed my attention was the passing away of Lord Kṛṣṇa which is described in the verse :

ततो राजन्भगवानुग्रतेजा
नारायणः प्रभवश्चाव्ययश्च ।
योगाचार्यो रोदसी व्याप्य लक्ष्म्या
स्थानं प्राप स्वं महात्माऽपमेयम् ॥ Mausala, 5. 28

If there is a chronogram in this śloka, it must be the expression, in black type स्थानं प्राप स्वं, which denotes the actual event. According to tradition, all the Mahābhārata events took place in the early years of Kali. So the expression must give a date consistent with this, in order to be acceptable. On deciphering, the expression gives 41207 days from the beginning of Kali, which is equal to 112 completed years 10 lunar months and 3 tithis. That is to say, Kṛṣṇa passed away from the world of men on Māgha Śukla Tṛtīyā of the 113th year of Kali Yuga, which is acceptably the early part of an age which is 432000 years long. The date tṛtīyā also checks well. For Kṛṣṇa's retirement to the forest took place very close upon the destruction of the Vṛṇis on the sea shore. The pilgrimage to the sea was evidently on an amāvāsyā day, i. e. Puṣya Amāvāsyā, which is considered sacred even today.

Now taking the exit of Kṛṣṇa as a triangulation point, I sought for a few other dates and the next event of importance to be examined was Bhīṣma's death. The lines describing his last phase are :

इदमाश्चर्यमासीच्च मध्य तेषां महात्मनाम् । ययन्मु गात्रं हि स शन्तनुस्ततस्तदा ।
सहितैर्कपिभिः सर्वैस्तदाव्यासादिभिः प्रभो ॥ तत्तद्विश ल्यमभवयोगयुक्तस्य वै क्रमात्
Anuśāsana, 274, 3 and 4.

in which the part *सृञ्चति गात्रं* has the requisite character of a chronogram. It yields the number 23665 for the *ahargana* which works out to be the 65th year of Kali Yuga. According to this, Bhīṣma does not appear to have survived till the month of Māgha, but, to have passed away on Pauṣa Bahula Aṣṭamī. This may lead to some controversy, but I am unable to enter upon a discussion on this here. The year of Bhīṣma's death being also the year of the Bhārata War, and a crowded year too, it has to be treated separately and in detail. For the present I would only point out that the interval between the death of Kṛṣṇa and death of Bhīṣma being only 48 years, there is nothing inherently absurd in the year indicated by the chronogram. It is within the limits of probability explicable from the text.

Similarly the death of Draupadī was found to be given by the expression *पतिता भुवि* in the couplet :

नाघर्मश्चरितः कश्चिद्राजपुङ्गवा परंतप ।

कारणं किंतु तद्रूढि यत्कृष्णा पतिता भुवि ॥

and Sahadēva's death in Yudhiṣṭhira's words,

आत्मनः सदृशं प्राज्ञं नैषोऽमन्यत कंचन ।

तेन दोषेण पतितो विद्वानेष मृषात्मजः ॥

Mahāprā, 2. 10.

in the part *पतितो विद्वान्*. Both *पतिता भुवि* and *पतितो विद्वान्*, however, give the same day 44661, equal to 122 years 3 months and 11 tithis, i. e. Āṣāḍha Śukla Ekādaśī of the 123rd Kali year. It appears that the others also dropped down on the same day, one by one, except Yudhiṣṭhira who continued the journey alone. If this time were found as a hundred years, or even twenty-five, after Kṛṣṇa's departing this world, it can be rejected on the face of it, but the interval indicated is only 9 years and odd which is quite understandable. For Yudhiṣṭhira did not start on the Mahāprasthāna the next day after Kṛṣṇa's passing, but the idea of abdication grew on him, may be rapidly, and arrangements had to be made for the government of the country. Then he made over the kingdom to Parikṣit. All this must have taken some time. Then the Pāṇḍavas started on their final trek-

it was a long trudge with a woman in the party. They first went east through several territories, crossing many rivers &c., and in course of time reached the Brahmaputrā, from there they went south and along the northern shore of the ocean, i. e. extreme south of India, passed to southwestward, then west and visited Dvārakā deluged by the sea and finally went north thus performing a pradakṣiṇā of the country. Then they crossed the Himālayas and passed the ocean of sand, probably the Mongolian desert, and went towards Mēru. Then one by one they began to drop off. Seven or eight years for this great adventure does not seem to be improbable.

Now to return to the original theme of the first śloka. It will be noticed that the date of the work is 352nd year of Kali, that is 239 years after the exit of Kṛṣṇa. The form of the text is that related to King Janamējaya by Vaiṣampāyana at the Serpent Sacrifice. But it is impossible that Janamējaya could have lived or the sacrifice could have taken place at the time indicated by the chronogram. Then it is a question of a different redaction of the Epic issued on that date, important one too, by a great authority, who chose to retain the previous traditional form. In his article "The Authorship of the Mahābhārata" ¹ Dr. N. J. Shende, pursuing the theory of Dr. Sukthankar that a powerful Bhārgava influence must have been at work in shaping our epic for us, has estimated the influence of the Bhṛgu and other Brāhman families and states his conclusion as follows :

" Thus the account of the Āṅgirasas and the Bhṛgu certainly favours the conclusion that the Bhṛgvaṅgirasas were jointly responsible for the final redaction of the Mahābhārata for making it a Dharma Śāstra, and a Nītiśāstra, and an Encyclopaedia of the Brāhmanical traditions for preserving its unity in the midst of its manifold diversity. In this final recast of the Mahābhārata by the Bhṛgu and the Āṅgirasas, the central unity was maintained the traditional framework was preserved and, at the same time, their purpose of the glorification of Brāhmanism was fully accomplished. "

As has been shown by Dr. Shinde, they were, undeniably, powerful even in the Vedic or Pre-Mahābhārata times. Although this redaction was, according to the chronogram, more than 200 years after the close of the Bhārata history, their not-very-remote ancestors having been closely connected, in preceptorial and other capacities, with the Kaurava dynastic life and also having taken part in the War itself as powerful leaders, the details of the various events must have been treasured in the family lore of the Bhṛgvaṅgirasas, so as to be readily available for incorporation with dates and other essentials in the new version. The long interval must also represent the time which gave them advantages to shape the Epic to the ideal conceived by them. A master mind from one of the two families must have finally presided over and issued the work.

The Bhṛgvaṅgirasas must also have been experts in Gaṇita including Nakṣatra Vidyā. It is even probable that they were the inventors and first users of the Kaṭapayādi system of notation and the chronograms. It seems to me that the preservation and active and facile use of these in Malabar lends support to this view. For it must be remembered that the Sanskrit culture of Malabar came with the original Brāhmins, the Nambudiris, who were the first colonists settled there by Paraśurāma, according to the Keraḷotpatti, the traditional history of Malabar. And the culture they brought must essentially be the Bhṛgu or the Bhṛgvaṅgiras culture. The life of these Brāhmins was marked by three important features, (1) they were exceedingly religious, conservative and orthodox, till very recently, and some of them still are; (2) this religious life was marked by a special devotion to the cultivation of mantras and development of higher or mystic powers by rigorous practice of mantra siddhis, an atharvanic outlook, so that Malabar came to be looked upon as a land of magic and mystery; (3) particular attention was paid to gaṇita and the study and practice of astrology, in which, as well as in chronograms of literary works, the Kaṭapayādi system was freely used almost to the exclusion of other systems. Since Paraśurāma belonged to an age prior to the Mahābhārata age, the existence, in times prior to the Mahābhārata, of the

knowledge of this system and of the practice of coining chronograms in it, which formed part of the Bṛgu culture the Nambudiris brought with them, can be inferred. There is also another noteworthy feature in that the chronograms of Malabar from the earliest known i. e. 216 A. D. are entirely solar in calculation, as regards years, months and days, which shows a later modification by Tamil influence; whereas those in the first śloka of Mahābhārata and in the text show the earlier phase and give the completed years in sidereal, and months and days in lunar, i. e., luni-solar reckoning. It therefore seems to warrant the conclusion that the redaction to which the first śloka is the introduction is that of the Bṛgvaṅgirases and that it was brought out, as indicated in the chronogram ऋग्विंशति, in the year 2751 B. C. I hope the discovery in the future of the use of Kaṭapayādi in Pre-Mahābhārata works of Bṛgus or ṅgirases will clinch the matter once for all.

KARMA AND REINCARNATION IN THE MAHABHARATA¹

BY

H. G. NARAHARI

Perhaps the first clear enunciation of the doctrine of Karma is given by the *Br. Up.* (III, 2. 13) which declares that what man becomes in future, good or bad, depends on his own actions (*punyo vai punyena karmanā bhavati pāpaḥ pāpena*). In the form in which this statement goes, it is a universal law which can allow of no exceptions. In the *Mahābhārata* (*Mbh.*) there is many an occasion when the law of Karma no longer remains an iron law, and a good number of methods are pointed out by means of which one can resist its influence. It cannot be said of the Epic that it is either unaware of this general law or that it is in open opposition to it. On the other hand, even the logical implications of the law of Karma, that man's deeds shall not go unexpiated, that each man shall reap what he has sown and that no man reaps what he did not sow, not to speak of the law itself, are all clearly emphasized in it.

We thus read of Mārkaṇḍeya telling Yudhiṣṭhira that man's deeds, good or bad, go on accumulating from time to time² and that, though the body dies after a time, the soul remains to reap the consequences of the actions perpetrated during the lifetime of the individual.³ The soul (*jīva*) is, by nature, eternal and undying.⁴ Of the size of a thumb (*anṅuṣṭha*) in measurement,⁵

¹ Unless specified otherwise, the references to the *Mahābhārata* in this paper are always to the critical edition published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

The following abbreviations have been used by me in this paper :

Ātman = *Ātman in Pre-Upaniṣadic Vedic Literature* (*Adyar Library*, 1944).

Br. Up. = *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*

Ch. Up. = *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*

Kauṣ. Up. = *Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad*

N. S. Press = *Nirṇayasagar Press*, Bombay.

² III. 181. 23-24.

³ III. 200. 24.

⁴ III. 202. 16.

⁵ III. 281. 16 ; V. 45. 24.

its location is in the body¹ of which, when life is there, it is the controller (*niyantā*)² and the fire of life (*prāṇāgni*).³ Though one body dies, the deeds (*karma*) follow this soul like a shadow (*chāyeyūnugataṁ sadā*)⁴ or fructify as seeds do to become plants (*paktiṁ phalānām iva bijavāpah*).⁵ As a result, the individual is born again in a different body to suffer pleasure or pain as his actions in the past demand.⁶ The virtuous man is he who performs sacrifices (*kratu*),⁷ who is bountiful to the deserving (*pātre datvā*), who speaks truthfully and charmingly (*satyam uktvā priyāṇy uktvā*), who is non-violent (*ahiṁsānirataḥ*),⁸ who is a hero without blemish (*śūraḥ ahatalakṣaṇaḥ*) and dies in battle.⁹ All these go to heaven¹⁰ the sacred world where live the virtuous (*pūṇyakṛtāṁ nivāsam*).¹¹ Life in heaven is not at all permanent¹² and, once the merit is exhausted, the individual comes down from heaven.¹³ Heaven is not the destination for those who do no penance (*atapatapasah*), who do not perform great sacrifices (*amahāyajñayūjinaḥ*), who are not truthful (*anṛtāḥ*) and who are unbelievers (*nāstikāḥ*).¹⁴ The evil-doers (*pāpāḥ*) are baked in the fire of the cycle of birth and death (*saṁsāreṣu.....pāpamānāḥ*).¹⁵ The sound of good deeds reaches heaven, and the man of whom prevails an evil reputation falls to the lowest worlds (*adhamān lokān*).¹⁶ Even, while in heaven, if one does wrong, the penalty is that he quits heaven (*svargāt lokād bhraṣṭyati naṣṭaceśṭvāḥ*).¹⁷

¹ III. 203. 16 ff. ² III. 202. 21. ³ III. 203. 15. ⁴ III. 181. 25.

⁵ III. 35. 18; Yudhiṣṭhira speaks here, however, of good deeds only.

⁶ III. 181. 25; 200. 24, 26. ⁷ III. 114. 6. ⁸ III. 178. 2.

⁹ III. 247. 4; IV. 64. 25; V. 141. 46; 157. 12.

¹⁰ I. 57. 6; II. 12. 2; 16. 9; 20. 14; III. 32. 22; 45. 13; 159. 4-6 etc.

¹¹ III. 181. 41; this is also identified very often with the heaven of Indra (II. 5. 116; 11. 55, 60-67).

¹² On coming to know of this, the sage Mṛdgalā refuses the heaven offered to him (III. 247. 39), but seeks and later attains by meditation (*dhyāna*) the highest state which is permanent and from which there is no return (III. 247. 40, 42-43); in another context (III. 238. 9), however, the heavenly life achieved by heroes who die in battle is spoken of as permanent. Duryodhana who was humbled by the *gandharvas* and set free by them at the intervention of Yudhiṣṭhira says that to this disgrace he would have preferred dying in the battle with them which would have meant eternal life in the sacred world of Indra (*Prāptās ca lokāḥ pūṇyās syur mahendrasadaṁ kṣayāḥ*).

¹³ III. 191. 2; 247. 38-41.

¹⁴ III. 247. 3.

¹⁵ III. 181. 18.

¹⁶ III. 191. 21-22.

¹⁷ V. 12. 20; 17.

Heaven is the witness of human actions,¹ and all experience happiness or misery in accordance with their deeds (*ātmadoṣair niyacchanti sarve duḥkhasukhe janāḥ*).² Good actions lead to good results (*punyaṁ kurvan puṇyakīrtiḥ*), the bad to bad results (*pāpaṁ kurvan pāpakīrtiḥ*);³ and Yama, ruler of the world of the fathers, is good to the good, bad to the bad (*śivaḥ śivānām aśivo' śivānām*).⁴ The doer must pay for the actions, good or bad. Merit or demerit goes ahead and man only follows it. No deed is either lost or transferred to another. The result is of the same nature as the action, and the account must be squared⁵:

यत्करोत्यशुभं कर्म शुभं वा द्विजसत्तम ।

अवश्यं तत्समाप्नोति पुरुषो नात्र संशयः ॥

ददाति यत्पार्थिव यत्करोति यद्वा तपस्तप्यति यज्जुहोति ।

न तस्य नाशोऽस्ति न चापकर्षो नान्यस्तदश्नाति स एव कर्ता ॥

अन्यो हि नाश्नाति कृतं हि कर्म स एव कर्ता सुखदुःखभागी ।

यत्नेन किञ्चिद्धि कृतं हि कर्म तदश्नुते नास्ति कृतस्य नाशः ॥

न कर्मणां विप्रणाशोऽस्त्यस्य पुण्यानां बाध्यथवा पापकानाम् ।

पूर्वं कर्तुर्गच्छति पुण्यपापं पश्चात्त्वेतदनुयात्वेव कर्ता ॥

अस्ति वै कृतमस्माभिरस्ति प्रतिकृतं त्वया ।

उभयं तत्समीभूतं वस पुजनि मा गमः ॥

If Śakuntalā was doubly unfortunate in being discarded twice, first by her mother at birth and later by her husband, Duṣyanta, she herself was responsible for her plight. Convinced of this, Śakuntalā blames her own past sins when Duṣyanta refuses to acknowledge her as his legal wife (*kiṁ nu karmāsubhaṁ pūrvam kṛtavatyaṣmi janmani*).⁶ Taken to the God of Justice, Dharma, rather than to heaven as expected by him, the sage Māṇḍavya demands on what charge he was brought there. And when it became clear later that the conviction was wrong, even Dharma, the God, had to be born on earth as a *śūdra* in penalty for wrong dispensation of justice.⁷ Bhadrā, wife of Vyūṣitāśva, says that she was separated from her husband by his death only through her former actions (*karmabhiḥ pāpaiḥ pūrvadeheṣu sañcitam*).⁸ If Dharmavyādha pursued his cruel profession, he was acting, he explains⁹ to the bewildered Brahman Kauśika who might be

¹ I. 68, 28-29.

² I. 73, 29; III. 279, 10.

³ V. 35, 51.

⁴ V. 42, 6.

III. 200, 5; V. 121, 21; III. 200, 27; V. 27, 10; XII. 139, 24 (N. S. Press edn.).

⁶ I. 68, 70.

⁷ I. 57, 77-80; 101, 23 ff.

⁸ I. 112, 26.

⁹ III. 205, 19-29; 206, 1-8.

wondering how he could combine hunting with the highest knowledge, only in accordance with his fate (*vidhi*), the decree arising out of his own sins in the past (*purākr̥tāpāpa*). Dharmavyādha was a Brahman in his previous incarnation. Because, in that life, he once shot at an ascetic, though unwittingly, he was cursed to become a *śūdra* as a penalty for his misdeeds. Draupadī attributes all her misfortunes to her manifold wrongs to the gods on a previous occasion (*nālpam̐ kṛtām mayā... devānām̐ kulbiṣām̐ purā*).¹ If Duryodhana refused to give up Yudhiṣṭhira's share of the kingdom and was ready to fight with the powerful Pāṇḍavas, he was acting only 'in accordance with the promptings of his evil deeds in the past':²

न चेद्राज्यं मृशति धार्तराष्ट्रो युधिष्ठिरस्याजमीदृश्य राज्ञः ।

अस्ति नूनं कर्म कृतं पुरस्तादनिर्विघ्नं पापकं धार्तराष्ट्रैः ॥

येषां युद्धं भीमसेनार्जुनाभ्यां..... ॥

Ambā, rejected by Sālva on the plea that she was defiled by the touch of Bhīṣma, attributes her misfortune to her own misdeeds in the past³:

मयैवेतानि कर्माणि पुर्वदहेषु मृदया । कृतानि नूनं पापानि तेषामेतत्फलं भुवम् ॥

So that her next life at least may be smoother, she contemplates penance:⁴

यथा परेऽपि मे लौके न स्यादेवं महात्मयः ।

दौर्भाग्यं ब्राह्मणश्रेष्ठास्तस्मान्नस्याम्यहं तपः ॥

Intent on wreaking her vengeance on Bhīṣma, she performs penance and achieves her purpose in being reborn as Śikhaṇḍin⁵:

To those who pursue the path only of truth, whose mind never sways towards untruth, and who always do their own duty, the Mbh. would thus remind us, there is no fear of death. Says the sage Mārkaṇḍeya to Yudhiṣṭhira:⁶

सत्यमेवाभिजानीमो नातृते कुर्महे मनः । स्वधर्ममनुतिष्ठामस्तस्मान्मृत्युभयं न नः ॥

¹ IV. 19. 28; I cannot agree with E. W. Hopkins (*J. R. A. S.*, 1906, p. 585) when he feels that Draupadī is here "not led to believe that her present misfortunes are the result of acts in a previous existence, but that they are due to the Creator, *Dhartar*;" It is, of course, true that the word *purā* here need not necessarily refer to an earlier existence; but it must be realized that, even if it refers to something done sometime before, the law of karma is not violated at all.

V. 47. 6 ff.

² V. 173. 15.

⁴ V. 174. 13.

⁵ V. 188. 12-13; 189. 17-18; 193. 59-60.

⁶ III. 182. 7.

14 [Annals, B. O. R. I.]

Virtue is supreme in the world (*dharmain tvekam paramain prōha loke*)¹ and carelessness leads one to Hell (*avivekena vākyasya narakaḥ sadya eva naḥ*).² Life is short and, during its brief span, it is not wise to sin and hence to suffer. Man must endeavour to do only what is good. Thus comes the exhortation to Yudhiṣṭhira from Saṁjaya³:

धर्मे नित्या पाण्डव ते विचेष्टा

महान्नावं जीवितं चाप्यनित्यं संपश्य त्वं पाण्डव मा विनीतशः ॥

अल्पकालं जीवितं यन्मनुष्ये महान्नावं नित्यदुःखं चलं च ।

भूयश्च तद्व्यसोऽनुकूलं तस्मात्पापं पाण्डव मा प्रसादधिः ॥

The regular rule laid down by Karma is sometimes stretched too much as when we hear that Dundubha had to become himself a snake for threatening his friend Khagama with a false snake,⁴ and that Pāṇḍu had to die when united with his wife because he killed the sage Kindama who, in the form of a stag, was in union with a hind.⁵ Even if this extension of the law to its logical limit can be considered to be in order, there are other cases where the Great Epic seems to violate its own law. To destroy sin, it does not seem to be necessary always to pay the penalty. Hearing holy stories, visiting holy places and meeting holy people, and bathing in holy waters, can destroy sin. The evils of Kali, we are told,⁶ are removed by hearing Nala's story (*iti hāsaminam...kalināśanam ucyate*). Kali himself promises this, struck by the magnanimity of Nala who refrained from cursing him with all his mischief which was extremely painful to him⁷:

ये च त्वां मनुजा लोके कीर्तयिष्यन्त्यतन्निताः ।

मत्प्रसूतं भयं तेषां न कदाचिद्भविष्यति ॥

There is a very long list of holy places given in the Mbh.⁸ visiting which different kinds of merit are also achieved, besides destruction of sin. The holy fame, like upto the gods, which was achieved by Mucukunda, Māndhātṛ and Maruṭia of old, can be Yudhiṣṭhira's also, says⁹ the sage Lomaśa to him, if he would go

¹ II. 60. 13.

² II. 61. 12.

³ V. 27. 1, 3.

⁴ I. 11.

⁵ I. 109.

⁶ III. 78. 10.

⁷ III. 70. 33.

⁸ III. 80. 56 ff.; 81. 36 ff.; 82, 83. ⁹ III. 92. 20 f.

about visiting holy places and meeting holy people. Likewise a large number of holy waters like the lake Puṣkara are enumerated as those bathing in which kills sin (*pūyante sarvapāpāni*).¹ Sacrifice and penance also can kill sin. Viṣṇu tells the gods suffering under the yoke of Nahuṣa, the Indra, that their former Indra can purify himself from his sin of killing a Brahman (*brahmahatyā*) in killing Vṛtra by offering the holy horse-sacrifice to him (*māmeva yajatām śakraḥ... puṇyena hayamedhenur*).² Animāṇḍavya says that his infantile sin of piercing a fly unconsciously is destroyed by his subsequent penance practised thousandfold.³

Immortality is not always achieved by one's own personal endeavour. It is sometimes a gift of the gods to those with whom they are pleased. Struck by Vibhīṣaṇa's devotion to the path of virtue (*dharma*), though a demon, Brahma grants him immortality (*amaratva*).⁴

Longevity (*āyus*) can be transferred to one from another. Ruru transfers one half of his longevity to call back to life Pramadvārā, his wife;⁵ and Puru, we are told, lent his youth for some time to his father Yayāti who was not quite satisfied with worldly pleasures.⁶

As against the usual rule that no man reaps what he has not sown there are cases when the individual can benefit by the merit of others or 'secure a remittance of a part of his evil Karma involuntarily.'⁷ Pāṇḍu sends word to Yudhiṣṭhira, through Nārada, that, if he performs the *rājasūya*, not only he, even his ancestors also, can go to heaven.⁸ And Yayāti, fallen from heaven through arrogance, goes back on his descendant Gālava offering one-eighth of the merit of his penance (*tapasaḥ... aṣṭabhāgena*).⁹ The same king refuses a similar gift offered by Śibi on an earlier occasion.¹⁰ Far from suggesting a general disfavour of any transfer of merit,¹¹ this means, I think, that such transfer is impossible outside the family. The same rule applies equally to sin, and the evil, one does, affects not only him but his ancestors

¹ III. 80. 45; cf. 80. 54, 104; 81. 127; III. 82, 83, 90, 121, 129 etc.

² V. 13. 12, 18. ³ I. 57. 79. ⁴ III. 259. 31. ⁵ I. 9.

⁶ I. 79.

⁷ Hopkins, *op. cit.*, p. 586.

⁸ II. 11. 66-7.

⁹ V. 119. 28.

¹⁰ I. 88. 8-9.

¹¹ Hopkins, *op. cit.*, p. 588.

also. Kuntī thus exhorts Yudhiṣṭhira to do his duty and fight, and thus see that his ancestors do not sink (*yudhyasva rājadharmena mā nimaṁjjih pitāmahaṁ*).¹ The idea occurs that the King is the maker of the times (*rāja kṛhasya kūrāṇam*), and his sins affect the world (*rājaloṣa hi jagat sprśyate*).² This general belief concerning the King can be used often to explain away what is really an irregularity of the subject himself. To the same category belongs the view that the wife follows the husband to heaven for no special merit of hers.³

The Epic speaks also of the inheritance of Karma by one's descendants :

नाथमश्वरितो राजन् मयः फलति गौरिव ।
जनैरावर्त्यमानो हि कर्तुर्फलानि कृन्तति ॥
पुत्रेषु वा नपतृषु वा न चेदात्मनि पश्यति ।
फलव्येव ध्रुवं पापं गुरुभुक्तमिवोदरे ॥⁴
पापं कर्म कृतं किञ्चिद्यदि तस्मिन् दृश्यते ।
नृपते तस्य पुत्रेषु पौत्रेष्वपि च नपतृषु ॥⁵

and, in another context,⁶ contradicts itself by stating that no such inheritance of deeds is possible, and that the doer alone must suffer the consequences of his actions :

न कर्मणा पितुः पुत्रः पिता वा पुत्रकर्मणा ।
सार्गेणान्येन गच्छन्ति बद्धाः सुकृतदुष्कृतैः ॥
यत्करोति तत्कर्तव्यं समश्नाति ॥

The very foundation of the Karma theory is shaken when sometimes doubt is expressed concerning the fruition of actions, good or bad. Yudhiṣṭhira tells⁷ Draupadī that it is a secret known only to the gods (*devaguhyāni*) whether actions, good or evil, have results. It is the duty of man, he adds, to act without caring whether there is any result or not :

अस्तु वात्र फलं मा वा कर्तव्यं पुरुषेण यत् ।
कर्मणाभुत पुण्यानां पापानां च फलोदयः ।
प्रभवश्चाप्ययश्चैव देवगुह्यानि भामिनि ॥

¹ V. 130, 32.

² V. 130, 15, 18.

³ I. 109, 29; 116, 25.

⁴ cited by Hopkins, *op. cit.*, p. 590 as in Mbh. I. 80. 2 f. I cannot trace these verses either in the critical edition of Poona or in the N. S. Press edition.

⁵ XII. 139, 22 (N. S. Press edn.).

⁶ XII. 153, 38, 41 (N. S. Press edn.), cited by Hopkins, *op. cit.* p. 591.

⁷ III. 32, 3, 33.

Akin to the same idea is the conception that the fruit of good actions can be stayed for sometime, and that evil prevails without any *raison d'être* therefor. Consoling Yudhiṣṭhira the sage Lomaśa says :¹

यद्धर्मेण वर्धेरन्नधर्मकचयो जनाः ।

वर्धस्वधर्मेण नरस्ततो भद्राणि पश्यति ॥

ततः सपत्नाञ्जयति समूलस्तु विनश्यति ॥

Kuntī wonders why, if the general rule is that good acts should bring happiness, it should be violated in the case of Draupadī whose conduct throughout her plight has been exemplary, and who deserves her reward² :

न नूनं कर्मभिः पुण्यैरद्भुते पुरुषः सुखम् ।

द्रौपदी चेत्तथादत्ता नाद्भुते सुखमव्ययम् ॥

A sort of "refinement" of the idea of temporary suspension of the result of actions occurs in three different ways. The action of this life will fructify at the corresponding period of life hereafter³ :

बालो युवा च वृद्धश्च यत्करोति शुभाशुभम् ।

तस्यां तस्यामवस्थायां तत्फलं प्रतिपद्यते ॥

In the second alternative, it is enough if the action is retaliated in the next life, and no specific period is fixed. Thus in Mbh. XII 323. 14,⁴ we read the same verse excepting for the last line which runs *bhūṅkte janmani janmani*. The third version combines both these and makes one suffer, birth by birth, at the same stage⁵ :

यस्यां यस्यामवस्थायां यत्करोति शुभाशुभम् ।

तस्यां तस्यामवस्थायां भुङ्क्ते जन्मनि जन्मनि ॥

It is probably in accordance with this principle that the idea occurs that Śiśupāla who fought with Kṛṣṇa has been fighting with him for a third time in a third incarnation. In the past he was Hiranyakaśipu when Kṛṣṇa had taken the man-lion incarnation (*Nṛsiṃhāvatāra*) and Rāvana when he was Śrī Rāma.⁶

¹ III. 92. 3-4.

² V. 88. 47.

³ cited by Hopkins, *op. cit.*, p. 592. I cannot trace this and the two succeeding verses either in the critical edition of Poona or in the N. S. Press edition of Bombay.

⁴ cited by Hopkins, *loc. cit.*

⁵ cited by Hopkins, *op. cit.*, p. 593 as in Mbh. XIII. 7. 4.

⁶ II. 70. 46-47 (N. S. Press edn.).

The fundamental difference between actions, good and bad, is questioned when a new dictum comes in saying that duty is important whatever be the actual nature of the action ¹ :

स्वकर्म त्यजतो ब्रह्मन्धर्म इह दृश्यते ।

स्वकर्मनिरतो यस्तु स धर्म इति निश्चयः ॥

It is also the case that it is difficult to make a strict distinction between what is good and what is bad. Untruth may become truth and *vice versa* ² :

प्राणान्यये विवाहे च वक्तव्यमनृतं भवेत् ।

अनृतं च भवेत्सत्यं सत्यं चैवानृतं भवेत् ॥

Also, it is not certain that the pleasure or pain we now experience comes as a result of our own actions in the past. In one place ³ in the Mbh. we read that pleasure and pain follow each other in a cycle, and that, like the farmer who takes the crops as they come, one must be happy when possible and bear misery when it comes :

सुखदुःखे हि पुरुषः पर्यायेणोपसेवते ।

नात्यन्तमसुखं कश्चित्प्राप्नोति पुरुषर्षभ ॥

प्रज्ञावांस्त्वेव पुरुषः संयुक्तः परया धिया ।

उदयास्तमयज्ञो हि न शोचति न हृष्यति ॥

सुखमापतितं सेवेदुःखमापतितं सहेत् ।

कालप्राप्तसुपासीत सस्यानामिव कर्षकः ॥

Since the theory of transmigration is only a corollary of the theory of Karma, the deviation in the Mbh. of the general law laid down by this theory also can now be noticed. Among those eligible to reach heaven after death, the Mbh. includes those who have a son. It is laid down, time and again, in the Epic that the son saves the father from hell, called *pul*, ⁴ and leads him into heaven instead, ⁵ that only those who have sons can go to heaven ⁶ and that the sonless are not entitled to go there. ⁷ As against this usual rule, Bhīṣma hopes for heaven after death. He says : *aputrasyāpi me lokā bhaviṣyanty akṣayā divi*. ⁸

¹ III. 199. 15; cf. 199. 34 also.

² III. 245. 13-15; cf. V. 36. 45.

³ I. 103. 17 (N. S. Press edn.).

⁴ I. 126. 28 (N. S. Press edn.).

⁵ III. 200. 3.

⁶ I. 220. 14.

⁷ I. 132. 62 (N. S. Press edn.).

⁸ I. 107. 109 (.....Do.....).

We are told of people like Draupadī and her brother, Dhṛṣṭadyumna, who were born outside a womb,¹ and a kind of continuity between more than one existence, without interference of death, is sometimes envisaged. Draupadī, we are informed,² got five husbands because as a hermit girl sometime back, propitiating Śiva for the sake of a husband, she repeated her query five times. King Kalmāṣapāda, beat Vasiṣṭha's son, Śakti, who, absorbed in penance, did not move out of his way. For his misbehaviour he became a man-eating demon and when Vasiṣṭha sprinkled sacred water over him he is said to have regained his original form.³ As tuition fees (*gurudakṣiṇā*) Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma bring back to life Sāndīpinī's son who, eaten up a long time ago by the demon Timi, was leading a ghost-like existence (*pretah kṛtaḥ*).⁴ Nahuṣa who became a python for his impertinent behaviour in heaven and who, while in such a state, had caught hold of Bhīma, regained his former body, as promised to him, as a result of conversation with Yudhiṣṭhira.⁵ When Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa killed Kabandha, there suddenly sprang up in his place, the Gandharva Viśvāvasu, bound for heaven, who it was that had been cursed to live till then in the form of a demon.⁶

The phenomenon of return to the same life after death is also known to the Mbh. Sāvitrī manages to see that her husband, Satyavān, who had died an untimely death, comes back to life after her bargain with Yama who returns Satyavān's soul which he had taken away.⁷

There are occasions when we read in the Mbh. of gods and men who move about between heaven and earth as between two places in the mundane world. Aditya once came down in human form to earth and described the splendour of Brahma's court-hall (*sabhā*) to Nārada.⁸ The five Pāṇḍavas, we are asked to understand,⁹ are only Indras living in heaven come down to earth on a

I. 155. 41; 175. 7. ² I. 157; 189. 41-49. ³ I. 166. 9-10; 168. 4.

⁴ II. 54. 9-12 (N. S. Press edn.). ⁵ III. 178. 45; V. 17.

⁶ III. 263. 35 ff.

III. 280 ff.; cf. also the story of the four Pāṇḍavas, Bhīma, Arjuna, Nakula and Sahadeva who die after drinking in the forbidden pond and who are brought back to life by Yudhiṣṭhira (III. 296. 93).

II. 11. 1-2.

⁹ I. 189. 27.

brief sojourn. Indra wants to see his son Arjuna, and the latter ascends the divine chariot brought to him by Mātali and goes to heaven even with his body. ¹

It does not also seem to be the regular rule in the Mbh. age that all who go to heaven must give up their mortal body.

People with special merit like Mudgala were entitled to go to heaven even with their earthly body. The angel (*devadūta*) tells Mudgala. ²

दया सत्यं च धर्मश्च त्वयि सर्वं प्रतिष्ठितम् ।

जितास्ते कर्मभिलोकाः प्राप्तोऽसि परमां गतिम् ॥

अहो दानं विघुष्टं ते सुमहत्स्वर्गवासिभिः ।

सशरीरो भवान्गन्ता स्वर्गं सुचरितव्रत ॥

Some Upanisadic doctrines are also violated in the Mbh. While, according to the Upanisads, ³ the *devayāna* is the path only of those who either know the *pañcāgni-vidyā* or meditate with faith upon *Satya*, and those whose merit consists in sacrifices (*yajña*) have to go by the other and inferior path of the fathers (*pitryāna*), in the Mbh. ⁴ we read of Lomaśa telling Yudhiṣṭhira of sages of yore who, desiring to go to heaven, worshipped with sacrifices (*kratu*). Even the man who touches water singing the feat of Rudra claiming his share of sacrifice, is certain to see before him, we have on the authority of Lomaśa, ⁵ the path of *devayāna*.

Yama, ruler of the world of the fathers and dispenser of justice there is entirely a new creation of the Epic as compared with the Upanisads. In the early Upanisads, the deeds themselves seem to have the power to allot to man the way he should proceed after death; and in the *Kaus. Up.* all souls go to the moon to be judged, though we do not hear of any one who judges. ⁶ The theory of the Epic is promulgated by Sanatsujāta for the benefit of Dhṛtarāṣṭra : ⁷

यमं त्वेके मृत्युमतोऽन्यमाहुरात्मावसन्नममृतं ब्रह्मचर्यम् ।

पितृलोके राज्यमनुशास्ति देवः शिवः शिवानामशिवोऽशिवानाम् ॥

¹ III. 43. 14 ff.; 164. 33.

² III. 246. 28-29.

³ H. G. Narahari, *Ātman*, pp. 91-92.

⁴ III. 114. 6.

⁵ III. 114. 12. ⁶ H. G. Narahari, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

V. 42. 6.

But it is impossible to say on this account that the Mbh. ignores the Upaniṣadic theory of transmigration. In an early portion of the Mbh.¹ there is a discussion between Yudhiṣṭhira and Nahuṣa in the form of a python concerning the fate of man after death. Nahuṣa speaks of a threefold destiny of life in heaven (*svargavāsa*), of manhood (*mūnasya*) again, and of birth in low wombs (*tiryagyoni*):

तिस्रो वै गतयो राजन्परिटृष्टा स्वकर्मभिः ।
 मानुष्यं स्वर्गवासश्च तिर्यग्योनिश्च तत्त्रिधा ॥
 तत्र वै मानुषाल्लोकाद्दानादिभिरतन्निवृत्तः ।
 अहिंसार्थसमायुक्तैः कारणैः स्वर्गमश्नुते ॥
 विपरीतैश्च राजेन्द्र कारणैर्मानुषो भवेत् ।
 तिर्यग्योनिस्तथा तात विशेषश्चात्र वक्ष्यते ॥
 कामक्रोधसमायुक्तो हिंसालोभसमन्वितः ।
 मनुष्यत्वात्परिभ्रष्टस्तिर्यग्योनौ प्रसूयते ॥
 तिर्यग्योन्यां पृथग्भावो मनुष्यत्वे विधीयते ।
 गवादिभ्यस्तथाद्वेभ्यो देवत्वमपि दृश्यते ॥
 सोऽयमेता गतीः सर्वा जन्तुश्चरति कार्यवान् ।
 नित्ये महति चात्मानमवस्थापयते नृप ॥
 जातो जातश्च बलवान्भुङ्क्ते चात्मा स देहवान् ।
 फलार्थस्तात निष्पृक्तः प्रजालक्षणभावनः ॥

The doctrine propounded by the Epic here is not very much different from the eschatological theory given first in the *Ch. Up.* and adopted subsequently by the Upaniṣads of later times.²

¹ III. 178. 9-15.

² For a full account, see H. G. Narahari, *op. cit.*, pp. 88 ff.

THE VEDA-VYĀSA MYTH

BY

K. M. SHEMBAVNEKAR

The author of the Mahābhārata is not only the author of a great Epic, or even of an Encyclopaedia Indica, but a prophet, who, indeed, revealed a fifth Veda for the guidance of posterity. Few even among the great sages of antiquity can lay claims to such high-sounding pretensions, or deserve a higher praise. But apotheosis, especially Indian, frequently rises up to such ethereal heights that in that dimness of epic style and grandeur it becomes a hard task to discriminate between just and unjust claims. Vyāsa, according to the Mahābhārata and several Purāṇas, e. g. Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata, received the appellation Veda-Vyāsa on account of his dividing the original Veda into four Samhitās¹ and distributing them among his four pupils, viz., Paila, Vaiśampāyana, Jaimini and Sumantu. Now here a question arises: is this epic legend in consonance with well-preserved Vedic traditions? And, if not, how did such a preposterous claim come to be preferred in books which profess due allegiance to the Vedas? A careful investigation into the origin and development of this Veda-Vyāsa Myth will furnish, perhaps, the best example of the way in which Purāṇic writers, as a class, have superseded, defied, twisted or perverted, old and carefully preserved Vedic traditions in order to glorify a particular personage or religious creed. In the present case it is the Bhāgavata-dharma, or Pāñcarātra Vaiṣṇavism which is sought to be exalted by the inventor or inventors of the above-mentioned Purāṇic legend. It is of the highest importance, therefore, to examine in detail the statement about the division of the original *one* Veda into four, and the subsequent distribution of those four Vedas among his own chosen disciples, by Vyāsa.

1

जातमात्रश्च यः सद्य इष्ट्यां देहमवीवृधत् ।

वेदांश्चाधिजगे साङ्गान्सेतिहासान्महायशाः ॥ (म. भा. ध्या. प. ६०-३)

विद्यामेकं चतुर्धा यो वेदं वेदाविदां वरः । (Ibid. ६०-५)

तपसा ब्रह्मचर्येण व्यस्य वेदं सनातनम् । (Ibid. १-५५)

वेदान् विव्यास यस्मात् स रेदव्यासुः इतीतिः ।

C. V. Vaidya accepts the above tradition with certain reservations. To quote his own words: "While accepting the tradition of the compilation of the Vedas by Vyāsa, we may, however, reject that part of it which credits him with compiling the Atharva text also." ¹ And again, "We may also reject the idea suggested later (especially in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa) that Vyāsa taught the four Vedas to four different pupils, viz. R̥gveda to Paila, Yajurveda to Vaiśampāyana, Sāmaveda to Jaimini and Atharvaveda to Sumantu." ² Such, however, is the strength and tenacity of a well-established and oft-repeated tradition that it scarcely leaves any room for doubt in which alone a critical enquiry can start. If Vedic evidence is to be believed, Vyāsa had nothing to do with the four Vedas. And, fortunately, that evidence is neither meagre nor indecisive. The references to the *three* Vedas in the various Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads are so numerous, clear and unmistakable, that the statement in the Epic--too often repeated in the Purāṇas--viz. that there was but *one* Veda in the beginning, and that Vyāsa divided it into four, appears as quite ridiculous, if not worse. There is not the slightest evidence in any of the above-mentioned works of high and indisputable antiquity to show that there was only one Veda in the beginning. That that one Veda was Yajurveda is a nefarious addition made to the Epic legend by the writer, (or interpolator) of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, who undoubtedly must have been an adherent of that school and whose bigoted zeal tries to elevate that Veda over the other Vedas, especially over the R̥gveda.³ As against this, one has but to read Sāyana's Introduction to the R̥gveda-bhāṣya in order to appreciate the great dignity and veneration in which that Veda is held by the other Vedas. And yet, Sāyana, as is well-known, was himself a follower of the Taittirīya school of the Black Yajurveda. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa persistently states that the three Vedas emanated³ from the three gods, viz. Agni, Vāyu

¹ His. Sans. Lit.: Vol, I p. 52

² एक आसीद्यजुर्वेदस्तं चतुर्धा व्यकल्पयत् । (वि. प. ३-३. ११)

³ (१) तेभ्यस्तप्तेभ्यस्त्रयो वेदा अजायन्तमिहैकं वेदा वायोर्यजुर्वेदः सूर्याग्निमवेदः । (श. प. भा. ११-४-८-३) (२) एवं वाग्देवस्य महतो भूतस्य निःश्रितमेतद्यजुर्वेदो यजुर्वेदः सामवेदोऽथर्वा-
ङ्गिरसः । (बृह. उप. २।४।१०) (३) ऋग्वेदं वाच भगवो अभ्येभि यजुर्वेदं सामवेदं etc. (छा. उ. ७) यो ब्रह्मणा विदधाति पूर्वं यो वै वेदांश्च ग्रहिणोति तस्मै (भे. उ. ६-१०)

and Ravi. Manu, following the same Vedic tradition, repeats the statement in his *Smṛti*.¹ In the 'Chāndogya Upaniṣad, too, Nārada enumerates the three Vedas as the three distinct heads of study, while recounting the subjects in which he had already gained proficiency. It is impossible to imagine that these works are later than the Mahābhārata, or that the personages like Nārada mentioned in them, are posterior to Vyāsa. Evidently, therefore, the three Vedas existed long before the Epic period. Indeed, the Śatapatha, as C. V. Vaidya points out, refers to the Rgveda-Saṁhitā as we possess it now, thus proving the great antiquity of that Veda. Nor is there the slightest hint in any of the Vedic works to prove anything like a division of the Vedas. Then there is, again, the most glaring contradiction in the Epic itself, where its author is credited with that glorious work. First it is stated that he studied the *Vedas* (mark the plural) ; and then next comes the amazing statement that he divided the *original Veda* (observe the singular) into four !

Again, if Vyāsa had had any connection with the Vedas, he would have been surely included among the venerable Ācāryas or gurus to whom *Tarpana* (water-libation) is due in the Brahmayaĵña. But his name is conspicuous by its absence, though those of his *supposed* pupils are mentioned in the Grhya-sūtra of Āśvalāyana : (सुमन्तुः जैमिनीः वैशंपायनः पल्लवः श्रुतः भारद्वाजः भार्गवः भारतः महर्षिः चार्वाकः ।) If, as the Epic says, Vyāsa had been the Guru of Sumantu and others, his name would have certainly occurred in the list, and that too before those of his pupils. In stead, we find a vague reference to the author or authors of the Bhārata and Mahābhārata. Certainly Āśvalāyana, like all ancient writers of India, knew what belongs to the dignity of the Guru, and therefore, the omission of Vyāsa's name from the above list is quite significant. It is worthy of note, too, that personages like Śākala, Bāṅkala and others are individually mentioned with due honour, and thus justice is done to all those who had any connection with the *Śākhās* of the Rgveda. The Caranavyūha ascribed to Śaunaka, though not a very ancient work, knows nothing of the Epic

अग्निवायुरविर्भ्यस्तु त्रये ब्रह्म सनातनम् ।

इति ह यज्ञसिद्धयर्थं युग्यं जुः सामलक्षणम् ॥ (म. स्मृ. १-२३)

legend, and consequently Vyāsa's name is nowhere to be found in it. It would appear as though the above *Sūtra* of Āśvalāyana was taken by the inventors of the Epic legend as a basis for the idea of the four-fold division of the original Veda, clearly to make the four Ācāryas whose names are jointly mentioned in it as the four pupils of the mythical Vyāsa. For, while the names of Vaiśampāyana and Jaimini are indisputably associated with the Yajus and Sama Vedas, there is very little or no evidence to prove the connection of Paila and Sumantu with Ṛk. and the Atharva Vedas, respectively. And are we to believe, as the legend requires us to do, that Āśvalāyana, who belongs to the Rgvedic group, would be so foolish or negligent as to put the name of the recipient of the Atharva-veda at the head and that of the recipient of the Rgveda at the tail? This would be sheer infidelity to his own Veda on the part of the *Sūtrakāra*. Vaiśampāyan's relation to Vyasa, again, as described in the legend, is so flagrantly absurd that it presents an anachronism which is at once hopeless and inexplicable. For Yājñavalkya, who is described therein as Vaiśampāyana's pupil, is, according to all Vedic, Epic and Purāṇic evidence, a contemporary of King Janaka of Videha. His glory is sung in the Brāhmanas and Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads of the Black as well as of the white Yajurveda. According to the Epic and Purāṇic chronology, he lived in the Tretā-Yuga, while Vyāsa, who is said to be the guru of Vaiśampāyana, and hence the great guru of Yājñavalkya, is a contemporary of the heroes of the Mahābhārata, and, therefore, lived at the end of the Dvāpara-Yuga! Indeed, there are a number of clear statements in the Epic and Purāṇas to the effect that Vyāsa lived at the close of the Dvāpara age. Thus the grand-pupil, instead of coming *after* the grand-guru, *precedes* him by a whole *Yuga*! But even if we discard the Epic chronology and accept the historical view, the antiquity of Yājñavalkya to Vyāsa remains unimpaired. For there are a number of legends and anecdotes narrated in the Śānti and Anuśāsana¹ Parvans of the Epic, wherein Yājñavalkya and Janaka figure as ancient personages while the narrator is Vaiśampāyana! The attempt to make Vyāsa

¹ (म.भा. शां. प. अ. ३१५)

the guru of Vaiśampāyana is one of those inventions which sacrifice chronology to hero-worship and literary romance. That Yājñavalkya was a contemporary, and even a pupil, of Vaiśampāyana is quite probable, though the legend about the name Taittirīya is quite fantastic. For they appear as the great leaders of the two rival schools into which the Yajurveda was divided, the guru representing the old orthodox school, and the gifted disciple introducing a reform.

From references to Vaiśampāyana and his pupils in Pāṇini we gather a few interesting facts of great historical value. It is evident from Sūtra IV-3-104 (कलापिवैशंपायनान्तेवासिभ्यश्च ।) that Kalāpi and other pupils of Vaiśampāyana became founders of different schools of the Black Yajurveda. The pupils of Kalāpi were four in number, while those of Vaiśampāyana were nine, as the *Kāśikā* enumerates them :

हरिदुरेयां प्रथमस्ततश्छगलितुम्बुरु ।
उलपन चतुर्थेन कालापकमिहोच्यते ॥
आलम्बिश्चरकः प्राचां पलङ्गकमलाबुधौ ।
कचाभारुणिताण्ड्याश्च मध्यमीयास्त्रयोऽपरे ॥
व्यामायन उदीच्येषु उक्तः कटकलापिनोः ।

In accordance with the rules laid down in the preceding *Sūtra* (तेन प्रोक्तम् ।) it is evident that different schools of the Yajurveda were known from the names of the founders, e. g. आलम्बिनः, आरुणिनः, ताण्डिनः etc. The evidence of the grammarians is highly authentic and reliable, in as much they were concerned with the designations which had come into vogue in their time, and were not interested in the invention of names, like the mythologists. The *Kāśikā* further remarks : चरक इति वैशंपायनस्याख्या । तत्संबन्धेन सर्वे तदन्तर्वासिनश्चरका इत्युच्यन्ते । Again, it is evident from *Sūtra* IV, 3, 102 (तिन्निस्वरतन्तुखण्डिकोवाच्छण् ।) that Tittiri was the name of an Ācārya or founder of a school, and that, in consequence, his followers derived the title Taittirīya. This little piece of evidence exposes the hollowness of the Purāṇic legend founded on that name and inserted in the Viṣṇu and other Purāṇas. It is, again, highly significant that Pāṇini does not mention Vyāsa as a प्रवक्ता of any or all Veda-śākhās. The *taddhita* form 'Vaiyāsika' is derivable according to a *vṛtika* of Kātyāyana. It is clear at any rate from the Mahābhārata itself that king Janaka and

Yājñavalkya—the enlightened patron and the enlightened protégé—are regarded by the narrator of the Epic, **Vaiśampāyana**, as very ancient personages. The *Bhagavadgītā* also mentions the king as an old exemplary philosopher—king. Evidently, therefore, the Purāṇic legend about the relation between Vyāsa, **Vaiśampāyana** and **Yājñavalkya** is a travesty of facts, and seriously compromises the authenticity and antiquity of Vedic traditions.

Jaimini's relation with Vyāsa is equally unhistorical, and the Purāṇic legend has made matters more complicated by identifying the latter with **Bādarāyaṇa**. Most modern scholars, happily, do not give credence to this identity. It is a fact especially to be borne in mind that no two writers could be so dissimilar to one another as the author of the Epic and the author of the *Vedānta-Sūtra*. For, while the former displays a most conciliatory attitude towards the different creeds and systems, the latter clearly betrays a most uncompromising spirit in dealing with all systems and sects which deviate even an iota from the teaching of the Śruti. Even the most superficial reader of the *Brahma-Sūtra* will not fail to observe **Bādarāyaṇa's** stern and uncompromising attitude towards the *Sāṅkhya* doctrine, which, with certain restrictions, is accommodated in the Epic and the *Gītā*. His antagonism towards the less orthodox schools—the *Vaiśeṣika*, for example—is still more fierce. And can any one imagine even for a moment that the author of the Epic, who ardently espouses the *Pāñcarātra* creed *in toto*, is the same as the author of the *Brahma-Sūtra*, who criticises at least a portion of it in his work? The zeal of the *Sūtrakāra* is thus the zeal of a Puritan who summarily dismisses all non-vedic tenets as mere subterfuge. The identity of these two writers rests on a tradition that Vyāsa assumed the discipleship of the great Vedantic teacher, **Bādari**, and under that designation, i. e. **Bādarāyaṇa**, wrote the *Sūtra*-work. The writers or revisers of the *Purāṇas* never troubled themselves about the harmony of doctrines, or of time and place; and went straightway to their business of reconciling the irreconcilable, and asserting the improbable. Once Vyāsa were identified with **Bādarāyaṇa**, it follows, as a matter of course, that Jaimini, the pupil, wrote the

Pūrva-mīmāṃsā, while the teacher reserved for himself the Uttara-mīmāṃsā. Śaṅkarācārya, however, does not seem to accept the identity; for in his *bhāṣya* on III, 3, 32 he refers to the Epic-legend, viz. that the sage, Apāntaratamas,¹ was re-born as Kṛṣṇa-dvaipāyana, just between the end of the Dvāpara, and the beginning of the Kali, Yugas. It is reasonable to expect here that if, in his opinion, the author of the Sūtra were the same as the author of the Epic, he would have suggested the identity in this connection. But he does not do so, and we may, therefore, suppose that he regarded the two authors as two different Ācāryas. This is, of course, only a conjecture and cannot be considered as, in any way, decisive. But it is certain, at any rate, that Śaṅkarācārya does not tacitly assume the identity of the two authors, as his rivals like Rāmānuja, and his own commentators like Govindānanda and Vācaspati Miśra, do. Evidently, therefore, these latter writers follow the tradition which had come into vogue since the revival of Purāṇic Hinduism. On the assumption of the identity of Bādarāyaṇa with Vyāsa the chronological tangle becomes even more complicated. For, the former refers not only to the Brhadāranyaka Upaniṣad in which Yājñavalkya so prominently figures, but also to its two recensions viz., Kāṇva and Mādhyandina.² Evidently, therefore, the author of the Brahmasūtra lived centuries after the great sage, who started a new school of the Yajurveda.

It will easily be perceived from the foregoing discussion that the Vedic tradition hardly knows of any such person as Vyāsa or Dvaipāyana, though the name of Vyāsa occurs once in the Taittiriya Āraṇyaka.³ As to the division of the one original Veda into four, it has been clearly proved that that part of the statement is openly in conflict with the clearest and most unequivocal evidence furnished by the Śruti literature itself. Still more inconsistent and full of contradictions is the other part of that

¹ तथाहि अपान्तरतमा नाम वेदाचार्यः पुराणविद्विष्णुनियोगात् कलिद्वारयोः संघो कृष्णद्वैपायनः संवभूयेति स्मरन्ति ।

Vide Mahābhārata, Śānti Parvan, Ch. 350

शारीरभ्रोभयेऽपि हि भेदेनैवमधीयते (ब्र. सू. १-२-२०)

तै. आ. १-९-३५

statement, namely, that Yājñavalkya was junior to Vyāsa by one generation. The inventor of the Veda-Vyāsa legend, whoever he was, makes a feeble attempt to explain away the above objections (Śānti p. ch. 350). For in the Mahābhārata we come across a certain sage of the name of Apāntaratamas who was specially appointed by god Viṣṇu for the division and distribution of the different Vedas and their Śākhās. But, unfortunately, that holy sage is as unknown to Vedic literature as his future incarnation—to wit, that Veda-Vyāsa himself! The Viṣṇu Purāṇa goes a step further and makes the bold avowal that there have been a number of Veda-Vyāsas, though not designated as such, who were entrusted with the holy work of the distribution and re-arrangement of the Vedas! The Purāṇa actually enumerates 28 such sages who lived in bygone ages! Thus, on this view, the Veda-Vyāsa is not so much an individual as a perpetual or intermittent institution! All such explanation only tends to make confusion worse confounded. The Vedic tradition, going back to a much earlier period than the Epic or Purāṇic legend, is strongly supported by the internal evidence of the whole Vedic literature and is in open conflict with the latter in every respect. The latter, indeed, has the rare merit, or good fortune, of finding universal acceptance by later Brahmanism, thanks to the popularity of the Epics and Purāṇas. But popularity can hardly atone for historical inaccuracies, and can never be urged as a criterion of truth or authoritativeness.

In order to understand the growth of the Veda-Vyāsa myth it is necessary to observe the close relation between Vedicism or early Brahmanism, and the Bhāgavata or Pāñcarātra Vaiṣṇavism. It must be stated here at the outset that the Bhāgavata-dharma was a spontaneous reform arising from within Vedicism, and not a revolt against it from without, like Jainism or Buddhism. Naturally the amalgamation of the two is so complete that it is

¹ अपान्तरतमा नाम सुतः स्वार्थधुवः प्रभुः ।
तेन भिन्नास्ततो वेदा मनोः स्वार्थधुवान्तरे ॥
तत्राप्यनेकधा वेदान्भेत्स्यते तपसान्वितः ।

कृष्णे युगे च संप्राप्ते कृष्णवर्णो भविष्यति ॥ (म. भा. शां. प. ३५०)

² अष्टाविंशतिरित्येते वेदव्यासाः पुरातनाः । (वि. पु. ३-३-९)

very difficult sometimes to distinguish between the earlier and the later strata even in connection with rites which are unquestionably of Vedic origin, and preponderantly Vedic in character. Thus the *Śrāddha* rite, as now performed, includes certain Purāṇic stanzas which can be traced to the *Bhagavadgītā* or to the *Harivamśa*.¹ Even more remarkable is the conclusion of all such rites by the recitation of the *R̥k*: वषट् ते विष्णव्यास आ ऊणोसि etc. (R. V. VII, 99, 5) which embodies a fervent prayer to god Viṣṇu, and is, for that reason, regarded with special veneration by later or Post-Vedic Brahmanism. But the climax of the tendency of Vedicism towards Vaiṣṇavism is to be found in the fact that the sacred syllable 'Om', so glorified in the Upaniṣads, takes now the prefix 'Hari', and becomes 'Hari-om' to mark the beginning of Vedic studies and recitations'. Indeed this compound of 'Hari' and 'Om' most aptly represents the union of the earlier Vedicism and later Vaiṣṇavism. Sometimes a word reveals more than a whole discourse or chapter. And all this is so deep-rooted and wide-spread that nobody now thinks that it had ever been otherwise. Manu, however, enjoins only the bare 'pranava' or 'Om' without any prefix in his *Smṛti*.² Vyāsa alias Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana was unquestionably the most glorious apostle or exponent of the Bhāgavata-dharma—and it may be said without fear of contradiction that later Vaiṣṇavism, whether of the Pāñcarātra type or otherwise (*Smārta*), is a creed which distinctly bears his stamp. Notwithstanding certain doctrinal differences like the *Catur-vyūha*, which is inconsistent with the general trend of Upaniṣadic philosophy, and which, for that reason, is criticized in the *Vedānta-sūtra*, the Bhāgavata or Pāñcarātra creed is in the closest relation with old Vedicism, and is also the most popular one throughout India. For, in the first place, its fidelity to the parental stock is genuine and unmistakable; and, secondly, even the non-vedic tenets like the *Caturvyūha* which it harbours are comparatively unimportant and are hardly insisted

¹ ब्रह्मार्पणं ब्रह्म हविः etc. Bh. G. IV. 24; also the stanzas सप्तव्याधा दशारण्ये (V. I. दशार्ण्ये) (ह. वं.); हरिर्दाता हरिर्भोक्ता etc.; चतुर्भिश्च चतुर्भिश्च द्वाभ्यां पञ्च-भिरेव च । etc.

² प्रणवं कुर्यादादावन्ते च सर्वदा । (म. स्मृ. २,)

upon. Thus in its transcendental purity we find it in the Bhagavadgītā, which has nothing sectarian about it, and which, therefore, lays claims to the highest authority among the Smṛtis, and ranks only next to the Śruti. Even in the Mahābhārata one cannot but perceive the spirit of tolerance and harmony towards Śaivism, Durgā-worship etc., though the leading creed is Vaiṣṇavism—Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa-worship. Vyāsa, the author of the grand Epic and the Gītā, naturally came to be covered with a glory which may justly be called divine. But perfectly divine it could not be, unless the sage-author were associated with the holy Vedas. In all probability, it was with this aim in view that the school of Sūta and Romaharṣaṇa — the founders of the Veda-Vyāsa myth — invented the legend about the division of the original Veda into four books, properly designated and diligently assigned to his four disciples, by the venerable guru, "Vyāsa." That they aimed at making him the fountain of all knowledge—past, present and future—is evident from the several claims which are so eloquently put forth on his behalf in the Epic and outside it: 'यदिहास्ति तदन्यत्र यन्नेहास्ति न तत् कश्चित्.'; 'व्यासोऽद्विष्टं जगत्सर्वं।'; 'अष्टादशपुराणानां कर्ता सत्यवती-सुतः।' etc. But the Veda is eternal, and a rigid adherence to it is enjoined by the ancient sages who look upon it as the only sovereign source of all 'dharma', i. e. Law and Knowledge. The originators of the Veda-Vyāsa myth, therefore, could not be content with making him only the author of a 'Fifth Veda', but fathered upon him even a higher distinction, viz., the title to the division of the original one Veda into four, and the distribution of the different Śākhās among his disciples. In doing so, however they completely perverted the earlier and genuine Vedic tradition as has been already shown above. Secondly, their bold attempt in creating this myth detracts, in a considerable degree, from the antiquity of the whole Vedic literature. And thirdly, and lastly, the statement is a source of clear self-contradictions and glaring anachronisms. Nevertheless the claims of the author of the original Bhārata and Gītā to divine honour and glory remain undiminished, in spite of the above drawbacks of the Purāṇic legend.

LAST DAYS OF THE GUPTA EMPIRE

BY

BUDHA PRAKASH

“ Stop !—for thy tread is on an empire’s dust !
An earthquake’s spoil is sepulchred below !
Is the spot mark’d with no colossal bust ?
Nor column trophied for triumphal show ?
None ; but the moral’s truth tells simpler so,
As the ground was before thus let it be ;—
How that red rain hath made the harvest grow ! ”
--Byron : Childe Harold

§ 1 § *The battle of wits*

The epoch of the Imperial Guptas marks the moon-tide splendour of the classical civilization of India. The sophisticated culture, superrefined manners and the ‘ megalopolitan ’ view of life, which characterize this epoch reached their climax under Kumāragupta Mahendrāditya. In his time the pace of stimulus had enormously quickened without any corresponding change in the faculty of response. And the result was that the nerves were strained to the breaking-point and the highly urbanised culture, tortured with age, had to bow before the blasts of destiny which invariably follow a period of peace and prosperity. The decline of the Gupta Empire began after Kumāragupta and after a century led to the ultimate collapse. We are, here going to tell the tale of this process of decadence, culminating in the last catastrophe.

A battle of wits has been raging over the question of the successor of Kumāragupta to the Gupta throne. Dr. R. C. Majumdar, relying on the absence of the name of Skandagupta’s mother in the Bhitari-stone inscription of interpreting a picturesque line of the Junagarh inscription¹, as denoting a fratricidal conflict for the throne, once held that there was a war of succe-

¹ व्यापेत्य सर्वान् मनुजैर्द्रुपुत्रान् लक्ष्मीः स्वयं यं वरयाश्चकार

—Fleet: Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum III, No. 14.

ssion after Kumāragupta and that Skandagupta emerged triumphant after defeating his brothers including Puragupta, the rightful claimant as son of the Queen Consort Anantadevi, and seized the throne. The first part of this argument has been ably refuted by Dr. H. C. Raychaudhury who has shown on the ground of several epigraphic genealogies that no conclusion can be drawn on the basis of mention of queens in inscriptions.¹ As regards the second one we have to notice that the mention of 'svayamvaras of Lakṣmī' is a purely traditional description of the might and Valour of Kings and is frequently found in contemporary inscriptions.² Besides, the Candragarbhāsūtra definitely relates that Kumāragupta himself installed Skandagupta on the throne after the latter's victory over the Hūṇas.³ and to the same conclusion the traditions recorded in the Kathāsaritsāgara lead us.⁴

This being, thus established that Skandagupta was the successor of Kumāragupta we have to encounter another obstacle, placed in the way of our narrative by some scholars headed by Dr. R. G. Basak. He maintained that the absence of the name of Skandagupta in the Bhitari seal inscription of Kumāragupta II shows that the two brothers, Puragupta and Skandagupta were not on friendly terms and that a partition had taken place between them the former reigning over the Eastern dominions and the latter holding sway over the Western. The crux of Basak's contention was that without the assumption of partition we have to face the absurdity of cooping up 4 kings— Puragupta, Narasiṅha Gupta, Kumāra Gupta II and Viṣṇugupta (not known to Basak) within the short span of (467-476) 9 years. Both these points were

¹ H. C. Raychaudhury: Political History of Ancient India P. 483.

² Cf. the epithet स्वयमेव भ्रियाः कर्मग्राहितः applied to Harṣa, whose devotion to his elder brother is too well-known. Dhruvasena of Valabhi eulogized in the Alina copper plate inscription (Fleet No. 39) as क्षतिपसहतेरनुरागिण्यः शुचियशोऽश्रुकभृतः स्वयंवराभिलाषिणीमिव राज्यभ्रियमर्पयन्त्याः कृतपरिग्रहः. Dhanyaviṣṇu, governor of Malwa under Budhagupta, who was very affectionate towards his brother Mātṛviṣṇu is described in the Erāṇ inscription as स्वयंवरेय-राजलक्ष्म्याविगतस्य (Fleet : No. 19).

³ Quoted by K. P. Jayaswal : An Imperial History of India P. 36.

⁴ cf. ततश्च यौवनस्थं तं विलोक्य प्राज्यविक्रमम् ।

अभिषिच्य सुतं राज्ये यथाविधि जनयिष्यम् ॥

Kathā : XVIII

controverted by Dr. Raychaudhury who cited the omission of the name of Kumārapāla in the 'Manhali grant and that of Pulkesin in an inscription of his brother Viṣṇuvardhana. As to the second point the fact of three Cālukya monarchs-Vijayāditya IV, his son Aumarāja I and the latter's son another Vijayāditya ruling for only 7 years and 6½ months and that of Sūryavarman I, Pārtha, Śambhuvardhana Cakravarman, Unmattāvantī and Sūryavarman II ruling for only 6 years in Kashmere (933 A. D. - 39) are sufficient to dispel the doubts of Dr. Basak. Thus according to Raychaudhury's view Puragupta succeeded to the throne of Magadha after Skandagupta and there was nothing like partition of the Kingdom.'

In order to arrive at a definite solution of this problem we need consider it afresh in the light of recent researches. In the Introduction to his History of classical Sanskrit Literature page civ Dr. M. Krishnamachariar has quoted some historical passages from the newly-discovered Kaliyugarājavṛttānta of the Bhaviṣyottara Purāṇa. After mentioning Skandagupta, the text runs as follows :

" Then will follow Narasiṅha Gupta famed as Bālāditya, son of the King Sthira (Pura) Gupta Prakāśāditya and appointed as his successor by his uncle Skandagupta in his life-time ".²

Thus it is crystal clear that Skandagupta died issueless and adopted his nephew Narasiṅha Gupta as his successor. But Narasiṅha Gupta's father, himself, is spoken of in the text as sovereign with an Āditya title. Does this smack of partition? No. The fact appears to be that in order to placate fraternal troubles Skandagupta gave his brother Puragupta some territory in Eastern Bihar to govern and by reason of brotherly feeling allowed him the right to issue coins and assume imperial titles. Yet, though outwardly a full-fledged King, Puragupta was merely a showpiece and the real sovereignty resided in Skanda-

¹ Raychaudhury : op. cit.

² ततो नृसिंहगुप्तश्च चालादित्य इति श्रुतः ।

पुत्रः प्रकाशादित्यस्य स्थिर (पुर) गुप्तस्य भूपतेः ॥

नियुक्तः स्वपितृव्येन स्कन्दगुप्तेन जीवता

Vide also J. B. O. R. S. XXV, i, pp. 1-47.

gupta. Such instances are not quite unknown in Gupta history. Ghatotkacagupta Kramāditya of the Mandsore inscription was a similar titular ruler, who struck coins and adopted imperial titles.¹ As a consequence of Skanda's adoption of Narasiṅha Gupta, the "separate status given to Puragupta was naturally abolished and the continuity and solidarity of the Imperial line restored. Thus we have no need to explain the find of Puragupta's gold coins in Gaya district by supposing, as R. D. Banerjee did, that Puragupta rebelled in Magadha while Skanda was busy in his wars.²

§ 2§ *Skandagupta's death and the
resultant anarchy*

Skandagupta had arrested the disruptive trend of the Gupta empire by the might of his arms. He quelled the menace of the Pusyamitras and allied recalcitrants and inflicted such a crushing defeat on the Hūṇas that his name became a terror in the lands of the barbarians. Then he established a stable administration by appointing able wardens in the Northern and Western marches. These achievements created such a tremendous impression in the hearts of the Indian people, that they adored him as a national hero, singing his exploits from the very childhood³ and forgot noted warriors like Ramchandra after witnessing the prowess of his arms.⁴ But with his premature death in circa 461 A. D., the fissiparous forces were again unabashed and a dash and grab followed on all sides. In Mandsore Govindagupta issued his grants without even mentioning his suzerain. Narendrasena Vākātaka elicited allegiance from the people of Kosala, Mālava and Mekala and his successor Prthviṣeṇa II (470-485 A. D.) claimed to have revived the sunken fortunes of the family. In

¹ Information given by R. D. Banerjee: *Age of the Imperial Guptas* p. 61.

² Banerji: *ibid* P. 51.

³ cf. चरितममलकीर्तिर्गर्भिते यस्य शुभ्रं ।

दिशि दिशि परितुष्टैराकुमारं मनुष्यैः ॥

Bhitari inscription — Fleet No. 13.

of. दिव्यासुयोधिनं तं च पश्यन् राजसुतं जनः ।

मन्दरादरोऽभूद्रामादिधनुर्धरकथास्वपि ॥

—Kathāsaritsāgara of. XVIII.

Gujrat the Valabhi realm of the Maitrakas was founded by Bhaṭārka who was appointed by Skandagupta as military chief to work under Parnadatta. But owing to the pressure of military needs the helm of affairs virtually passed on to Bhaṭārka, who declared independence after the death of his sovereign. Presumably about the same time the Maukharis also, who originally governed as feudatories certain parts of Magadha taking advantage of the weakness of central government established themselves at Kanauj and initiated a line that was destined to play an important role in the politics of Northern India. About the same time, perhaps, Naravardhana laid the foundations of the future greatness of Thānesar.¹ The sudden stoppage in silver currency after Skandagupta which was intended for the Western provinces points to the termination of Gupta authority in those regions and the general debasement of gold currency suggests a time of troubles.

§ 3 § *Narasiṅha Gupta Bālāditya I (467-473 A. D.)*

Narasiṅha Gupta was not slow in his response to the "challenge of circumstances. To him goes the credit of being a pioneer in the work of recuperation and even of achieving a certain measure of success in this enterprise."² His coin types again become heavier and manifests as well, the growing weight of Gupta authority. The capital was transferred to the secure eastern regions of Kāśī as Ujjain was now exposed to the invasions of the Hūnas and the envy of the refractory chieftains of the west.³

Bālāditya I adopted Buddhism as his religion and was one of the pioneers of Nalanda establishment. His time was made memorable by the intellectual activity of the Buddhists and the Sāṃkhya Philosophers. Vindhyavāsa, the disciple of Vṛṣagana was successful in a dispute with Budhamitra, teacher of Vasubandhu. The latter on returning to Ayodhya heard of the shame of his teacher and wrote a book 'Paramārthasaptati' in opposi-

¹ R. S. Tripathi: History of Kanauj P. 22.

R. N. Dandekar: History of the Guptas p. 132.

³ A cutting satire of this event is perhaps written by Kālidāsa in the following verse—

वस्वोक्तसारामभिभूय साहं सौराज्यबद्धोत्सवया विभूत्या ।

समग्रशक्तौ त्वयि सूर्यवंशे सति प्रपन्ना करुणामवस्था ॥

—Raghuvamśa XVI, 10

tion to the new Sāṃkhyasāstra of Vindhyavāsa. On this Bālāditya I respected Vasubandhu, invited him to Ayodhya and lavished him with gifts.¹ The lecture-hall of Ayodhya attained such reputation as a centre of philosophical activity that even the Bodhisattva Maitreya was believed in a Chinese tradition to have come down from the Tuṣita heaven and discoursed to the audience there.²

Bālāditya's architectural activity was also in keeping with his religious interest. The Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa gives some details of his work in this direction :

"Undoubtedly he will adorn the whole earth—the east upto the seas—with chaityas. The noble one, the builder of bridges, will then construct monasteries, rest houses, wells, orchards, parks and alleys. Thus the king, having ruled without foes and without obstacles will live for 36 years and 30 days and will accept Pravrajyā. Then the King being anguished by the loss of his son and having accepted the life of an ascetic on that account will kill himself by practising samādhi".³

This explains the premature and unexpected end of Narasiṅgha Gupta.

§ 4 § Kumāragupta Kramāditya (473-475 A. D.)

The successor of Narasiṅgha was his second son Kumāra Gupta by the queen Mahālakṣmidevi. He also ruled at Kāśī

¹ See Paramārtha's 'Life of Vasubandhu' translated from the Chinese by J. Takakusu J. R. A. S. (1905).

² R. Kimura : Shifting of the centre of Indian Buddhism in Journal of the Deptt. of Letters I (1920).

³ the text is
 प्रार्ची समुद्रपर्यन्तां चैत्यालंकृतशोभनां ।
 करिष्यति न संदेहः कृत्वा वसुमतिं तदा ॥
 विहारारामवापीश्च उद्याना मण्डपा सदा ।
 करिष्यति तदाश्रीमां सकमां सेतुकारकः ॥
 कृत्वा राज्यं महीपालो निस्सपत्नं अकण्टकं ।
 जिवेद्वर्षावर्षद्वित्रिषत् तृश्वहं प्रव्रजे नृपः ॥
 ततोत्मानं घातयेद् राजा ध्यायन्तः संप्रमूर्च्छितः ।
 पुत्रशोकाभिसंतप्तः यतिवृत्तिसमाश्रितः ॥

(translation my, own)

Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa edited by Jayaswal in 'Imperial History of India' P. 48.

17 [Annals, B. O. R. I.]

and under him an image of the Buddha was dedicated at Sārṇātha, which gives the initial date of his reign. His influence was to some extent felt in Mālwa, for the silk-weaver's guild repaired their temple of sun at Mandsore in 473 A. D. and acknowledged the rule of the Gupta emperor. Kumāragupta had to continue the struggle against the Hūnas, who were swarming like locusts in the North-West to swoop down upon the smiling plains of Madhyadeśa.¹ His might and virtuous nature is testified by the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa in these words. "After that will come the powerful King of the Gaudas, Kumāra by name. He too will be exceedingly virtuous."² His reign was short and he was succeeded by his son Viṣṇugupta.

§ 5 § *Viṣṇugupta* (475-476 A. D.)

The identity of this king is for the first time disclosed by the Nalanda seal deciphered by Dr. A. S. Altekar. Viṣṇugupta was a Vaiṣṇavite (Paramabhāgavata) rather than a Buddhist.³ He seems to have left no issue and with his death the line of Purugupta was closed. Hence the throne devolved upon Budhagupta, the third son of Kumāragupta I Mahendrāditya, who is designated by the synonymous title of Śakrāditya by Hiuen-Tsang.

§ 6 § *Budhagupta* (476-496 A. D.)

Budhagupta enjoyed a long and prosperous reign of 20 years and vigorously pursued the task of restoring the fortunes of the Gupta Empire. The Eastern territories of Bihar and Bengal had ever been faithful to the Guptas. Under Budhagupta, Brahmadatta and Jayadatta were acting as viceroys in these regions and the administration and land-revenue system was also very

¹ cf.

अन्यकुमारगुप्तोऽपि पुत्रस्तस्य महायशः ।

कमादिष्य इति ख्यातो हूणैर्युद्धं समाचरत् ॥

—Bhaviṣyottara Purāṇa J. B. O. R. S. XXX i 1-47,
and Kṛṣṇamāchariar op. cit.

² cf.

तस्यापरेण नृपतिर्गौडानां भवविष्णवः ।

कुमारस्यो नामतः प्रोक्तः सोऽपि स्वयन्तर्धर्मवान् ॥

—Jayaśwal op. cit. P. 50.

³ cf. Proceedings of the Indian History Congress (1941).

3rd line राजाधिराजश्रीकुमारगुप्तस्तस्यपुत्रस्तत्पादागुह्यातो ।

4th line परमभागवतो महाराजाधिराजश्रीविष्णुगुप्तः ।

efficient.¹ The Paharpura inscription² also points to the tidiness of administration. "The sense of peace and prosperity felt by the people of Western U. P. and Bihar is avouched by the beautiful images of the Buddha dedicated at Sarnath in 476 A. D. In Central Provinces Hastin in one of his copper-plates dated 483 A. D. acknowledges the paramountcy of the Gupta empéror.³

Budhagupta seems to have reclaimed Malwa to Imperial allegiance. Dr. Saleore⁴ believes that he fought against the Maitrakas and Vākātakas, who were in possession of Malwa and conquered it back from them. The Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa describes Narasiṅgha Gupta simply as Purvadeśakalā and Kumāragupta II as the "powerful lord of the Gaudas"—a fact which shows that Malwa was outside the Gupta empire from 467–476 A.D. and that Budhagupta was the first to conquer it sometime about 484 A.D.–485 A.D. being the date of the Eran epigraph.⁵ Budhagupta succeeded in rehabilitating the administration of Malwa on sound lines. He appointed Surāśmicandra to act as his viceroy over the territories between Narmadā and Jamnā and entrusted the warlike brothers Dhanyaviṣṇu and Mātṛviṣṇu with the administration of Malwa proper. The vigour and virility of his reign commanded respect on all sides and the Maitrakas of Valabhi remained contented with the title of Senāpati, showing thereby their subservience to imperial authority. The succession of the handsome and easeloving Devasena (485–490 A. D.) to the Vākāṭaka throne facilitated the task of Budhagupta to a great extent.

All these triumphs were signalized by the resumption of silver currency which proclaimed the restoration of imperial authority in the central and Western territories of Malwa and Gujrat. The reverse of these silver coins represents a peacock with wings outspread and a circular legend beautifully epitomi-

¹ cf. the Damoḍar;ur copper plate inscriptions No. 3 and 4 *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. XV.

² *Ep. Indica* Vol. XX.

³ cf. the expression गुप्तप्रसज्यभुक्तौ *Fleet: Corpus* No. 22.

⁴ cf. Saleore: *Life in the Gupta Age* ch. I.

⁵ *Fleet: Corpus* No. 19.

zes the great achievements of the emperor "Śrī Budhagupta, after conquering the earth, conquers heaven."¹

An attempt has been made by Dr. K. P. Jayaswal to identify Budhagupta with Prakāśāditya of the coins on the ground that there is a 'V' sign beneath the king's arm and the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa gives "V'-initialled" as the name of Budhagupta.² But we have seen that the Bhavisyottarapurāṇa expressly mentions Prakāśāditya as the imperial title of Puragupta and there is no reason to disbelieve the veracity of this statement. However, the matter remains subjudice.

Budhagupta was a donor of Nālanda and his rule was tolerant towards all creeds.

§ 7 § *Vainyagupta Dvādaśāditya alias*
Tathāgatagupta (496-507 or 8 A. D.)

According to Hiuen-Tsang the son and successor of Budhagupta was Tathāgatagupta. On the other hand the Gunaighar inscription³ dated 507 A. D., reveals the identity of a king Vainyagupta who granted, from his victorious camp at Kṛpura, at the request of his feudatory Mahārāja Rudradatta, some lands in the village of Kuntēdadak in Uttaramaṇḍala for the maintenance of a Buddhist vihāra. Some clay seals⁴ discovered at Nālanda designate this King as Mahārājādhirāja and the reading 'Vainya' in place of 'Candra' on the heavier coins of Archer type, proposed by D. C. Ganguly,⁵ demonstrates that he was an imperial ruler, assuming the title of Dvādaśāditya and a prosperous king as the weight of his coins indicates. It is clear, therefore, that from 496-507 A. D. the political scene was dominated by Vainyagupta and that Hiuen-Tsang mistransliterated his name as Tathāgatagupta. Otherwise Tathāgatagupta remains a riddle to us, for there is no room for him anywhere.

Vainyagupta, though outwardly perfect in Imperial prestige and paraphernalia, was destined to preside over the liquidation of the Gupta empire, so laboriously knit together by this illustrious

¹ विजितावनिपतिः श्रीबुधगुप्तो दिवि जयति

² Jayaswal: Imperial History of India; Introduction P. 38.

³ Indian Historical Quarterly (1930) P. 53, 561.

⁴ Archaeological Survey of India (1930-34) Pt. I P. 230, 249.

⁵ Indian Historical Quarterly (1933) P. 784.

predecessor Budhagupta. To begin with, there was a formal division of the empire as a result of which the Gaudas so far faithful to the Guptas, seceded from the Imperial realm. The *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* says: "after that will follow a mutual partition amongst them. These Gaudas, of furious spirit, will precipitate the separation."¹ Dr. Jayaswal thought that the text speaks of a partition between Bhānugupta, who ruled in Mālwa and Tathāgatagupta who ruled in the eastern regions.² This view is contradicted by Hiuen-Tsang, who describes Bālāditya, identified by Jayaswal himself with Bhānugupta, as the successor rather than a contemporary of Tathāgatagupta.

This separation relates, in fact, to the assumption of independence by Gopacandra, as Vijayasena inscription subscribes himself as a feudatory both of Vainyagupta and Gopacandra, showing thereby their contemporaneity and independent status. The Eastern, Southern and South-Western Bengal i. e. the Vardhamāna Bhukti, seceded from Western and North-Western Bengal i. e. the Puṇḍravardhana bhukti. The former declared independence under Gopacandra, whereas the latter adhered to Gupta *sovereignty* until the last days.³ Gopacandra was succeeded by Dharmāditya and Samācāradeva Narendrāditya, who are known from 5 inscriptions discovered at Kotālipāda⁴ in the district of Faridpura and one in Burdwan itself. These kings adopted the imperial title of Mahārājādhirāja and issued gold coins as marks of their power and independence.

Analogous to this disruptive scene were the events in the west. The Maitrakas so far satisfied with their position as imperial Senāpatīs now formally declared independence and Dronasimha assumed the title of Mahārāja. As a fine dramatic irony, the emperor Vainyagupta himself attended the coronation and with his own hands crowned Dronasimha.⁵

¹ ततः परेणाविश्लेषस्तेषामन्योऽन्यनेष्यते ।

महाविश्लेषणा हेने गौडा रौद्रचेतसः ॥

—ibid P. 50.

² Jayaswal: *Imperial History of India* Introduction P. 39.

³ 5th Damodarpur ins. dated 543 A. D.

⁴ edited by N. K. Bhattasālī in *Ep. Indica* Vol. XVIII.

⁵ cf. अखिलभुवनैकस्वामिना परमस्वामिना स्वयमुपहितराज्याभिषेकः

Alinā Inscription, Fleet : Corpus, No. 38.

In the south the Vākātakas became assertive. Devasena abdicated in favour of his son Hariṣeṇa who was a great conqueror and claimed victories over Lāṭa, Avanti, Trikuṭa, Konkan, Kuntala, Āndhra, Kalinga and Kośala. The Punjab was coming gradually under the heels of the Hūnas. Udyotanasūri in his Kuvalaya-mālā speaks of śrī Torarāya (Toramāṇa) on the Candrabhāgā, at whose court dwelt Ācārya Harigupta of the Gupta dynasty as his preceptor. Devagupta, of the same dynasty, and a great poet became his pupil. This shows not only how the Guptas themselves were playing into the hands of the enemy, but also how the sapient invaders were accepting the Indians as their preceptors, in order to give them a soporific.

We are in possession of some coins of Gupta kings unknown from any other source e. g. Jayaprakāṇḍa Yaśas and Virasena Kramāditya etc. Evidently these scions of the Imperial family tried to carve some principality and used their own coinage. This is another instance of the internal dissolution of the Guptas. Adding to this list the embryonic greatness of the Maukharis and Puspabhūties we get a clear picture of the fumbling of the Gupta empire under Vaniyagupta.

§ 8 § *Bhānugupta Bālāditya II (507-510 A. D.)
and the second Hūna Invasion.*

Under these circumstances Bhānugupta ascended the throne. Taking the opportunity by the forelock, Toramāṇa swooped down into central India and inflicted a decisive defeat on Bhānugupta at Erāṇ (510 A. D.) Bhānugupta offered a desperate resistance and proved him as brave as Pārtha on the field of battle. His general Goparāja also fell fighting valiantly. Yet the day was lost and Bhānugupta beat a retreat towards Eastern Bengal.¹ Toramāṇa pursued him up to Pāṭaliputra. The Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa gives lucid details of this raid :

“The great king “H-initialled” coming from the west reached as far as the bank of the Ganges in the East. That great monarch, śūdra by caste and possessed of great prowess and armies, took hold of that position (bank of the Ganges) and

¹ cf. Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa

तस्याप्यनुजो मकराख्यः प्राचीं दिशि समाश्रुतः

commanded the country round about. That powerful king then invested the town called Tirtha in the Gauda country.¹

Here a new element was introduced in the cauldron of politics. Bhānugupta had a son who later came to be known as Prakatāditya. He was of refractory nature and his conduct was throughout rebellious. So he was imprisoned by Goparāja, the generalissimo of the empire, by an order of Bhānugupta and for 17 years continuously he languished behind prison bars.² Now in the hurly-burly of the Hūna invasion, he was somehow released and, incognito of a trader, he entered Tirtha with a merchant in the dead of night. As the next day dawned, he was apprehended and Toramāna, with great perspicacity, installed him on the Gupta throne at Pātaliputra, as the titular gupta sovereign, under his own ferule.³ Having, thus, safely entrenched his authority behind the legitimacy of Prakatāditya, Toramāna returned westwards to look after the affairs of his state. But as he cooled his heels at Kāśī, he fell ill unexpectedly and expired. In his last moment he summoned his son Mihirakula to his bedside and appointed him as his successor³ (511 A. D.).

Toramāna was a very wise ruler. He accepted Harivarman as his preceptor and restored a Gupta scion on the throne of Pātaliputra. He also enticed officers like Dhanyavisnu to his

¹ the text is पञ्चाद्दिशसमायातः हकारारख्यो महानृपः ।
प्राचीं दिशपर्यन्तं गंगातीरमतिष्ठत ॥
शूद्रवर्णो महाराजा महासैन्यो महाबलः ।
सो तं तीरं समाश्रित्य तिष्ठते च समन्ततः ॥
पुरीं गौडजने ख्यातं तीर्थं हि विप्रतः ।
समाक्रम्य राजासौ तिष्ठते च महाबलः ॥

—op. cit. 57.

² The relevant text is

तस्यापि सुतः पकारारख्यः प्राग्देशेष्वेव जायतः ।
दश वर्षाणि सप्त च बन्धनस्थमधिष्ठितम् ।
गोषारख्येन नृपतिना बद्धो मुक्तोऽसौ भगवान्बुधे ॥
ततौ च क्षत्रियः बाल वणिजा च सहागतः ।
रात्रौ प्रविष्टवास्तत्र राज्यन्ते च प्रपूजितः ॥
मागधानां तदा राज्ये स्थापयामास तं शिशुम् ।

—op. cit. P. 51.

³ Mañjuśrīmūlakalka : Same page.

side and remained tolerant in religious and administrative affairs.

His foresight, cool-mindedness, diplomacy and conciliatory attitude was greatly responsible for the establishment of Hūpa regime in India.

§ 9 § *Mihirakula and the Hūpa interlude*
(511 A. D.—528 A. D.)

Mihirakula was brave, warlike and ferocious. His ambitions were insatiable and his idiosyncracies bordered on lunacy. Rash to the point of madness, erratic, arbitrary and tyrannical, he possessed no virtue of his father and made the Hūpa name dreaded throughout the length and breadth of India. The result was a powerful uprising of the people which swept away the last traces of Hūpa rule from this country.

Mihirakula started on a campaign of conquest after his accession. Kalhana in his *Rajatarāṅgiṇī* names some of his conflicts in Ceylon and South India: "The people of nocturnal habits, seeing his forces at a distance, from the houses of Ceylon, trembled to think of another invasion of Rāmacandra. In return, he (Mihirakula) routed the kings of Coḷa, Karpāta, Lāṭa etc. as an elephant in rut does the horses by his very smell."² After thus subjugating the whole of India, Mihirakula diverted his attention towards Bhānugupta, who did not pay any tribute and was preparing in the marshy lands of Bengal for the final contest. Hiuen-Tsang tells us how Mihirakula hotly pursued Bālāditya II, whose retreating column lured the invading forces with the interiors of eastern spaces and thus when they were cut from their base of operations, fell back with a swing, and inflicted a crushing defeat on them. Mihirakula himself

¹ Cf. *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* :

प्रमार्दा कामचारी च स राजागृहचिह्नितः ।

² The original text is

दूरात्तत्सैन्यमालोक्य लङ्कासौधेर्निशाचराः ।

भूयोऽपि राघवोयोगमाशङ्क्य प्रचक्रम्पिरे ॥

व्यावृत्य चोत्कर्णाटलाटादर्थिं नरेश्वरान् ।

सिन्धुरानिव गन्धेभो गन्धेनैव व्यदारयत् ॥

was taken prisoner but he appealed to the clemency of Bālāditya's mother, and she remonstrated with her son to forgive the life of the fugitive. A treaty was patched up in virtue of which Mihirakula was allowed to rule in Kashmere and the rest of India was freed from his yoke. In Kashmere, he was pounced upon by the sweeping armies of Yaśodharman Viṣṇuvardhana and was finally extirpated.¹

But the Hūṇa menace was not completely staved off, for Īśānavarman Maukhari had to conquer and defeat them and Rājyavardhana had to act as lion for the deerlike Hūṇa.² Finally they were merged in Hindu society as Gurjars.³

Bālāditya II also did not long survive to enjoy the fruits of this victory. His mission of life having been fulfilled and his motherland been freed from the foreigners, he took to asceticism and ended his life by practising Samādhi. The puppet Prakāṭaditya, surrounded by his carpet-Knights, continued his mock-paramountcy at Kāśī, while the stage was dominated by another aggressive figure—Yaśodharman Viṣṇuvardhana.

§ 10 § *Yaśodharman the dictator of India*
(cir 530—540 A. D.)

About the origins of Yaśodharman we do not know much. All that we know about him is that he was a national hero, a valiant warrior and a staunch Brāhmanist dictator who restored the Vedic religion, cleared the land of the traces of foreigners and chastised the royal quizzlings, who by their mutual squabbles luxurious tastes, jeopardized the integrity and independence of India.⁴ Hailing from lowly origins,⁵ he raised the banner of

¹ As shown from a reference in the Mandasore inscription

यस्यशिलयो भुजाभ्यां वहति हिमगिरिर्दुर्गशब्दाभिमानम् । Fleet : Corpus No. 33.

² of the epithet हृणहरिणकेसरी given to him by Bāṇa in Harṣacaritam.

³ See P. C. Bagchi's Presidential address to the Ancient India section of the Indian History Congress held at Aligarh. He proves his theories with the help of Chinese phonology.

आविभूतावल्लैरैरविनयपटुभिर्लषिताचारमार्गैः ।

मोहादेद्वयुर्गनैरपशुभरतिभिः पण्डित्यमाना नरेन्द्रैः ॥

—Mandasore inscription, Fleet : No. 33.

⁵ As indicated by the line

स्वपृष्ठपरिसरावज्ञया ibid.

Indian liberation and with the forces that gathered round him conquered countries not enjoyed before even by the Guptas and invaded lands, which the chiefs of the Hūṇas could not penetrate. Further, homage was tendered to him by chieftains from the river Lauhitya to Mount Mahendra and from the Himālaya to the Western ocean.¹ Even Mihirakula paid him obeisance by touching his feet with his forehead.

Dr. K. P. Jayaswal in one of his important writings identified Yaśovardhana with Kalki avatāra mentioned in the Purāṇas. His arguments are so convincing and decisive that it seems useless to question them here.² Yaśodharman according to the identification was born at Sambhala in Rājputānā and his mission was the extinction of the Mlecchas.³ One noteworthy feature of his campaigns was that the Brāhmanas, finding their religion and culture in danger, took arms by the tens of thousands and swelled the ranks of Yaśodharman.⁴ It is an edifying instance of the Brāhmanas' love of his race and religion and his readiness to make utmost sacrifices for their defence. Naturally therefore, there was a restoration of Brahmanist religion. Vedic fires were again lighted and clouds of smoke, blackening the skies caused Indra to pour showers of rain, which produced flourishing harvests of grain.⁵ But Yaśodharman could not perpetuate the result of his efforts by any sound system of governance. He was a lonely meteor, that flashed and vanished and left behind only a brilliant gleam of glory. After his passing away, the same internecine feuds again cropped up.

¹ cf आलोहस्थोपसृष्टात्तलवनगहनोपत्य द्वाशमहेन्द्रात् ।

आगङ्गाश्लिष्टसानीस्तुद्दिनशिशुरिणः पश्चिमादापयन्ति ॥

—Mandasore Inscription. Fleet: No. 33.

² Jayaswal: The historical position of Kalki, *Indian Antiquary* (1917) P. 145.

³ cf प्रवृत्तचक्रो बलवान्म्लेच्छानामन्तकृत् चली

ibid. quoting Kalki Purāṇa.

⁴ cf प्रगृहीतायुधैर्विप्रेः प्रवृत्तः शतसहस्रशः

⁵ cf स्निग्धश्यामाम्बुदामैः स्वगितदिनरुतो यज्वनामाज्यधूमैः ।

रम्भोमेभ्यं मघोनावधिषु विदधता गाढसम्पन्नसस्याः ॥

—Mandasore Inscription Fleet: Corpus, No. 35.

§ 11 § *Prakaṭāditya* (*cir. 540-587 A. D.*)

The reign of *Prakaṭāditya*, the Francis Joseph of Indian history, was fraught with many changes in the history of the dynasty and the country. We have seen how he was installed by *Toramāna* under his tutelage at *Pāṭaliputra*. From 512 A. D. to 540 A. D. the stage was dominated by *Mihirakula* and *Yaśodharman* respectively. After the death of *Yaśodharman* when the later Guptas, *Maukharies*, *Puṣpabhūties*, *Maitrakas* and many others struggled for paramountcy, *Prakaṭāditya* also seems to have shown some activity. The *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* gives an account of his recuperative endeavours.

"He will rule up to the sea in the East. Those situated in the valley of the *Vindhyas* and the *Mleccha* robbers on the frontiers will be under the control of "P. initialled." All the provinces in the North and the valleys of *Himādri* will be ruled by this *Ksatriya* King. He will be an unrivalled king of *Magadha*, in the East upto the sea and the forest and in the North upto the *Himālayas*." ³

We are also informed that he defeated the *Kesari* King of *Orissa*.

But the suzerainty of India, could not remain in his hands. Under *Kumāragupta III* of the line of Later Guptas (535-550 A. D.) the *Maukhari* *Īśānavarman* was defeated and *Kumāragupta* declared himself to be the lord of the three oceans and as a trophy of his triumph burnt himself at *Prayāga*. After his end, *Īśānavarman* again raised his head, became emperor (550-555 A.D.) and worsted the Later Guptas, slaying their King *Dāmodargupta* on the battle-field. His successors *Sarvavarman* (550-570) and *Avantivarman* (570 A. D.) were the acknowledged emperors

¹ the text is

प्राची समुद्रपर्यन्ता राजासौ भविता भुवि ।
हिमाद्रिऋक्षिमान्निविष्टा तु उत्तरा दिशमाश्रिताम् ।
सर्वे ते वशवर्ति स्यान् प्रकाराख्ये नृपसौ भुवि॥
मागधेषु भवेद् राजा निःसपत्नं अकण्टकम् ।
सैमाममटवीपर्यन्ता प्राचीसमुद्रमाश्रिताः ॥

—op. cit. P. 61.

His reign over *Magadha* is vouched for by the *Dāmodarpur. C. P. inscription* No. 5 dated 543 A. D. which speaks of परमदेवत परममट्टरक महाराजमेधराज श्री... .. यत् (*Ep. Indica. op. cit.*),

both in the North and South. Prakatāditya was reduced only to a titular position. Towards the end of his reign even those provinces which paid him nominal respect fell off one by one. The Tibetan version of the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa goes on: "The traitorous ones of the interior of the Vindhyas set themselves up as independent rulers in the middle tract called 'Interior' (Durga) Jaya the serpent (Jayanāga) conquered the people of the south east. Kesari (of Orissa) and Soma (Śaśaṅka Gaudādhīpa) became kings."¹ The same text sums up the career of Prakatāditya as follows: "Born in prosperity, the King had luxuries up to his dotage. He will live for 94 years and die of sheer old age."²

The court of Prakatāditya was the centre of learning and letters. His munificence earned him the resemblance of Kalpadruma.³ Thus outwardly keeping the pomp and panoply of Samudragupta and Vikramāditya, he lacked in internal power and prestige and was fated to watch the spectacle of the gradual decline and fall of the Gupta empire for over half a century.

§ 12 § Vajrāditya (587-590 A. D.)

The death of Prakatāditya was followed by confusion and a chaotic conflict for the Imperial throne. One of the ministers proclaimed himself emperor but was assassinated after one week.⁴ Then Vajra, mentioned by Hiuen-Tsang as the successor of Prakatāditya and a donor of Nālanda, solemnly became emperor and reigned for three years.⁵ His end marked the close

¹ the text is शठाः परवृत्तिकार्यैव विन्ध्यकुक्षिनिवासिनः ।
दुर्गेति मध्यदेशे ते स्वयं राज्यं अकार्षुः
महाविजयो जित्वा प्रागुदकसर्वतः स्थितान् ।
केसरिनामा तथाभ्यः सोमाख्यो नृपो मृतः । —op. cit. P. 62.

² अभिवर्धमानजन्मस्तु भोगास्तस्य च वर्धताम् ।
वार्धक्ये च तदा प्रोक्ते भोगां निश्चलतां व्रजेत् ॥
अश्रिति वषाणि त्रिविधुः सम सम तथापगम् ।
ततो वषाणिमभूतान् काले कृत्वा द्वि गतः ॥ —op. cit. P. 62.
(Jayaswal's paraphrase is given).

³ of द्विजगम्येभ्यः सततं विद्वत्समुद्यविद्वितर्हाचः
and कल्पद्रुम इव तिसरां निष्कम्पः प्रकटमूलोऽपि ।

Sārānātha Inscription (Fleet : Corpus. No. 79).

⁴ of Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa मृत्यस्तस्व तु ममार्हं राज्यैश्वर्यमकारयेत् । —op. cit.

⁵ of Mañju. तस्याप्यनुजो वकाराख्य वनिना समधिष्ठितः ।
त्रीणि वषाणि एकं च भूयिता राज्यवर्धनः ॥ —op. cit. P. 63.

of Imperial Gupta History and henceforth the realm of the Vikramādityas was engulfed in the Puṣpabhūti dominions, Rājya-vardhana assuming the reins of the state.

§ 13 § *Reflections on the fall of the Gupta Empire*

In the foregoing survey we marked a gradually declining space-conception and a narrowing weltanschauung. The Imperial titles which entailed the responsibility of maintaining an India-wide central state, became so cheap as to be employed with impunity by petty chieftains and even by provincial governors.¹ The Aśvamedha now became simply a showy masquerade. The people, in general had become sentimental and sensitive to aesthetic delicacies. They loved fawn and flattery and sought to drown the cares and anxieties of the work-a-day world in the overflowing bliss of emotional pleasure.

The Gupta empire was a pictorial pattern. Lavish praise, gaudy designations semi-divine pretensions, vainglorious pomp and ebullient grandeur were its chief characteristics. Heredity rather than merit was the maxim of administration. Kings wanted glory, not earth. Kālidāsa, the bard of Gupta Imperialism, had laid down, in his *Raghuvamśa*, the ideal of triumphal marches through the country solely with a view to exact tribute and allegiance by an epic display of prowess.

The triumph of privilege over the society was complete. Idealization of religion and rigidity of social order imprisoned the forces of progress by defending obsolete traditions with vehemence. The Brahmanical Renaissance, which characterized the Gupta period ensured the superiority of the aristocracy of state and letters over the plebian, business-like and artisan category of working people.

Towards the end the rise of Buddhism made the kings inert and unenergetic. The teaching of the Buddha, which once formed a galvanising creed of action and propelled the indefatigable energies of Aśoka for the behoof of mankind, were now reduced to the intricate and prurient system of Mahāyāna, which proved a smoke-screen for the parasites and capitalists. The innate vitality and freshness of a nation thus gone, foreigners found in it an easy and wealthy prey to feast upon.

¹ Cf. the epithets applied to Dhanyaviṣṇu in the Eraṇ epigraph. राज्यलक्ष्म्यानुगेन चतुःसमुद्रपर्यन्तप्रथितयशसा अक्षीणमानधनेन etc. and compare them with those of Samudragupta himself.

चतुर्दधि सलिलास्वादितयशसः etc.

MISCELLANEA

AN IMPROVEMENT ON ŚAMKARA'S INTERPRETATION OF Br. Sū. II. i. 7.

BY

SERINIVAS DIXIT

In order to prove his doctrine of Māyā, Śamkara has strained the Br. Sū. II. i. 7 too much. I want to show that he could have interpreted the Sūtra otherwise, without any twisting of words, and yet could have made it subservient to his Māyāvāda.

The back ground of the argument is this: In the Sūtra No. 4, न विलक्षणत्वान्नाथात्वं च शब्दात्, the Sāṃkhya opponent argues that Brahman cannot be the cause of the world. For, the world is admittedly impure and insentient while the Brahman is conceived to be pure and sentient. Surely, the effect cannot be inherently different in nature from the cause.

A reply is made to this objection in the Sūtra No. 6, दृश्यते तु, that as a matter of fact the effect is different from the cause. Not only this, if the effect were not different, in some respects at least, from the cause, the concept of causation would lose all meaning. For, the effect, in order to be effect, must be distinguishable from the cause; and if it is distinguishable, it is different.

Now a contingency occurs, which is stated in the first half of the Sūtra No. 7. The contingency is this:— If the effect is different from the cause, there must be something absolutely new in the effect. And therefore this new factor could not have been existent before.

But the creation of something absolutely new—the creation of something out of nothing, i. e. the ārambhavāda of the Naivāyikas—goes as much against Śamkara's doctrine as against that of his Sāṃkhya opponent. Śamkara, therefore, wants to use the latter half of the Sūtra, न प्रतिषेधमात्रम्, to avert this contingency. He says that the word *mātra* (only) of the Sūtra implies that his negation of the opponent's assertion, ' like cause, like effect ' is *only* a negation, without no real object to negate at all.

I suppose, this is straining the word too much. It is hard to convince one that " only negation " directly implies " the un-

reality of the object negated. Why should we not understand the Sūtra in its *prima facie* meaning as other commentators do? And why not, moreover, when it directly supports the Māyā doctrine?

I would expand the expression, प्रतिषेधमात्रत्वात्, thus: "We have only negated (by the Sūtra No. 6) what you assert, viz. the effect cannot be different from the cause. We have not ourselves positively committed to any doctrine either as regards the pre-existence or otherwise of the effect before production. Our solution of the difficulty will come in due course in the Sūtras, तदनन्यत्वं वाच्यम्भणशब्दादभ्यः, युक्तः शब्दान्तराच्च, etc." Will not this rendering be more in consonance with the wording of the Sūtra, and be quite helpful to Sāṅkara in elaborating his Māyāvāda?

SOME ARGUMENTATIVE FAULTS IN THE

BHAGAVADGĪTĀ

BY

SHRINIVAS DIXIT

The Gītā is not a harmonious development of one single central doctrine. Even supposing that it has to expound a unitary thesis, the Karmayoga for instance, the work as a whole is not a well-knit consistent piece of argument. Each succeeding verse does not logically evolve out of the preceding one; nor is each chapter a necessary forward step in the development of argument. The verse III, 36, for instance, is as arbitrary an insertion as anything can be. The beginnings of chapters ten and thirteen have similarly no connexion whatever, not even verbal, with the close of the preceding chapters.

Is Action obligatory after self-realisation?

A very important fault in argumentation, however, relates to the teaching of Karma Yoga. No doubt the Gītā categorically enjoins the course of action without attachment to the fruit thereof, whether it be its sole and central teaching or not. But what is the argument? Time and again, the Gītā reiterates that work done with a spirit of non-attachment has no binding force. Granted! But it does not follow that it must be done. There is no harm if you do work disinterestedly, but why do it at all?

One may not do it as well. What is proved is that one ought not necessarily to abandon work. The author of the *Gitā*, however, intends to prove that the course of disinterested work is better than that of leaving work altogether (तयोस्तु कर्मसंन्यासात्कर्मयोगो विशिष्यते). This he has never been able to prove.

For, the task is impossible firstly on account of the underlying philosophy of the teachings of the *Gitā*. It asserts that the highest good of life is liberation which is equated with the realisation of the identity of the individual self and the universal self¹ (or the Lord). If this realisation is the highest good, then there is no point in saying that the course of action after liberation is better (विशिष्यते) than a course of total inaction. How can there be anything better than the highest good? The creed of liberation as the highest good of life and the obligatory programme of a worldly life with disinterested work ill go together. To an extent, the situation would have been saved if disinterested work were asserted to be the necessary means of self-realisation. But even this would not have been a complete solution. For, the real question is, why should one act compulsorily after self-realisation. Śāṅkara, though he may not be faithful to the text of the *Gitā* is yet quite faithful to the inexorable logic of its fundamental assumption. The plain truth is that the conclusion of the Karma Yoga doctrine cannot stand on the premises that liberation is the highest good of life. But the *Gitā*, bound as it is to the Hindu dogma to that effect, is loath to leave it.

Is Disinterested Action Superior to Inaction after Self-realisation?

Let us now see how the *Gitā* tries to prove the superiority (and hence the absolute binding nature) of the course of disinterested action over that of inaction after self-realisation. One of the arguments is that one can never succeed in absolutely avoiding action of some kind or other. (नहि कश्चिदक्षयमपि जातु तिष्ठत्यकर्मकृत्). But this can never prove that one ought to insist on doing acts. Natural inevitability does not prove moral obligatoriness. One may prefer inaction, or least action, for the

¹ Thus, the union with the Lord is called परं धाम or परमा गतिः; the Lord is identified with the universal self in the verse XV. 17; that this highest goal of life is identical with self-realisation is clear from the lines, यत्र वैष्णवात्मनात्मानं पश्यन्नात्मनि तुष्यति, and यं लब्ध्वा नापरं लाभं मन्यते नाधिकं ततः ।

matter of that, even though one finds oneself compelled to act. .

The other consideration which the Gītā puts forth is about the solidarity of the world (*लोकसंग्रहमेवायि संपश्यन्कर्तुमर्हसि*). But once it is asserted that the *highest good* consists in liberation, all such considerations are pointless. Surely, nothing can by its addition make better what is admittedly the highest good.

It may be argued that though liberation is the highest good for the individual, the individual should not stop at it. It would be selfish and therefore immoral. The Gītā ideal is more catholic. It conceives of a collective mokṣa .

Plausible as this argument may seem, it misses the very essence of the concept of *summum bonum* or the highest good. If anything is declared to be the highest good, then there is no sense in saying that it is the highest good for some one individual and something else is the highest good for some one else. Assuming that my liberation is the highest good, then it is the duty of every body else to achieve my liberation. If this were not admitted, it would follow that several different things, i. e. the liberation of several individuals, are each of them the sole goods—an absolute contradiction.

I am not suggesting that personal liberation is the highest good. But the Gītā admits it, and I only point out that if it does so, it cannot consistently argue that Karma Yoga is superior to a life of inaction after self-realisation.

Formal Inconsistencies in Some Minor Arguments

From the verse II. 11 onwards, Śrī Kṛṣṇa is trying to prove the immortality of the soul presumably to induce Arjuna to take to arms. Now supposing that he carried conviction home to Arjuna about the immortality of the soul, the latter may well ask, "Granting that I really do not kill my cousins by destroying the vestures of their souls, why should I yet perpetrate the misery, phenomenal though it may be, rather than avoid it?"

We see a greater fault still. Verse II. 25 says that since the soul is imperishable, Arjuna need not much worry over physical death of any body. So far so good. But then follows a logical bravado. Śrī Kṛṣṇa asserts that his conclusion, that physical death need not be lamented over, holds good even if his premise, viz. that the soul is imperishable, is not assented to (verse II. 26),

And what is the reasoning? जातस्य हि ध्रुवो मृत्युर्ध्रुवं जन्म मृतस्य च (II. 27). Now, is this really the other alternative which it pretends to be? Certainly not. If the dead shall certainly rise again, then it is not real death. The imperishability of the soul is assumed and implied. But the wording, अथ चेन्नैतन्मृत्युजातं नित्यं वा मन्यसे मृतम्, creates the impression that Śrī Kṛṣṇa is proving his conclusion even by accepting, for argument's sake, the contrary of his original premise. But we see that all that is a camouflage of words.

" Other Minor Fallacies "

From the verse I. 40 onwards there is a chain of causes and effects. I want to point out only the formal inconsistency, and not the material falsity or otherwise, of the causal relation established therein. It is argued: "Because of the extinction of a race, the long-standing religious customs peculiar to that race come to an end. On account of this destruction of *dharma*, *adharma*, makes an inroad. (What a new step in the reasoning!). Due to the invasion of *adharma*, the women of the family are polluted. Due to this there occurs a mixture of castes, and this mixing is a veritable hell!" Then comes a great *petitio principis*:—"Because of these faults which culminate in a mixing of castes, the long-standing ancestral customs come to an end." The attentive reader will here detect a repetition of an earlier link in the same causal chain. What is once asserted to be a cause cannot be later an effect in the self-same non-cyclic order.

From the verse II. 62 onwards there is a similar chain. Here, the formal consistency is obvious, but the empirical connection that is said to be existing in the adjacent links of the chain is questionable. It is said that "by contemplating on the objects of enjoyment, one cultivates an attachment for them; from this there arises a strong desire for enjoying the objects; from this desire (i. e., if the desire is thwarted), anger is likely to be developed." All this can well be granted. But we must seriously doubt the correctness of the three steps that follow, viz., संमोह, स्मृतिभ्रंश, and बुद्धिनाश. Can we give plausible meanings to these three terms in order to show that they are the psychological stages, each following in order, on the way to complete moral degeneration (प्रणश्यति)? I gravely doubt.

PATṬABANDHA AND KIRĪṬA

BY

HELEN M. JOHNSON

(Chicago, III)

In the Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume¹ Mr. Rambhadra Ojha has an article, " Kirīṭa-mukūṭa," in which he decides that *kirīṭa* is a kind of *mukūṭa*. He also discusses *paṭṭa* (= *paṭṭa-bandha*) and says: " *Paṭṭa* must be something almost as good as *kirīṭa* and a thing to be worn in some cases with and in others without *kirīṭa*. "

In this connection there is an interesting reference in Hemacandra's *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpurasacaritra* 10. 11. In a detailed account of the feud between Pradyota of Avantī and Udayana of Viṭabhaya he describes the capture of Pradyota by Udayana who branded Pradyota's forehead with the words " dāsīpatir, " ² with reference to an earlier abduction of a slave-girl by Pradyota. Subsequently they were reconciled and " Udayana made a *paṭṭabandha* which concealed the brand on his (Pradyota's) forehead. From that time a *paṭṭabandha* indicated the majesty of kings. Formerly they wore a *kirīṭa* and nothing else (*eva*) as a head-ornament (*maulimaṇḍanam*). ³

It is evident from this passage that Hemacandra, at least meant by *paṭṭabandha* a ' fillet,' ' diadem,' worn around the forehead in contrast with a head-dress worn higher on the head.

¹ R. G. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, Poona, 1917, Pp. 433 ff.

² 10. 11. 582.

³ 10. 11. 600-01.

NOTE ON CHANDAVADIMSAYA

By

R. N. GAIDHANI

The story of Bambhadatta occurring in the Jain Uttara-jjayanāsutta, is retold by several Jain commentators and writers in Sanskrit and Prakrit. The version of the story given by Devendragaṇi alias Nemichandrasuri begins with—"सोमे नयरे चन्द्रवडिसयस रत्नो पुत्री सुणिचन्द्रो नाम आसी लम्माने,¹ Jarl Charpentier,² Prof. Paolini,³ Prof. Jacobi,⁴ Prof. Meyer⁵ and other Western Scholars who have annotated, translated or dealt in any way with the story have taken चन्द्रवडिसय to be the proper name of the king of the city of Soma. Indian Scholars like Hargovind Sheth, Prof. A. N. Upadhye,⁶ Prof. V. M. Shaha,⁷ have followed the western lead. In his edition of 'Bambhadatto' Dr. P. L. Vaidya suggested a new meaning of the word. He translates the word "A king whose emblem (चन्द्रवडिसय-अवतंसक) was चंद्र (moon)" and explains—"Every person born in the family had his name ending with चन्द्र". But his translation does not warrant this explanation. He seems to have based his explanation on the name of the prince सुणिचन्द्र.

Nowhere in the Jain or Hindu mythology do we come across such an awkward name as चन्द्रवडिसय. The word, on the face of it, seems to be an adjective describing the king. The name of the king, having no connection with the main narrative seems to be purposely omitted. This led me to discard the translation of the Western Scholars. The same reason led me to dismiss Dr. Vaidya's explanation.

In the inscriptions, both Sanskrit and Prakrit, we have such forms as क्षत्रियकुलावतंस, सोमकुलभूषण etc. Taking a cue from it, I for one suggest a new and better explanation. The word चन्द्रवडिसय should now be translated as—"who was the great jewel (वडिसय) [of the family] of the moon (चन्द्रवंश). The whole is explained by the Sanskrit word चन्द्रकुलावतंसक.

The name of the capital सोमनगर also lends support to my explanation. I hope that scholars will appreciate this new rendering.

¹ "Die Legende von Citta and Sambhuta" Vienna O. J. Vol. V and VI.

² "Comm. on Uttarajjayanāsutta" (xiii).

³ "La novella di Bambhadatta" J. of Italian Oriental Society.

⁴ SEB. Vol. XXII and XIV.

⁵ "Hindu Tales" London 1909.

⁶ "Bambhadattachariya". Sk. and Prakrit Jain Lit. Series No. 4, 1940.

⁷ Bambhadattachariya; Prakrit Granthamala Series No. 8.

REVIEWS

1 HIGHWAYS AND BYWAYS OF LITERARY CRITICISM IN SANSKRIT—By Mm. S. Kuppuswami Śāstri, M.A., I.E.S., The Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute Madras, 1945, Price Rs. 2

The subject of literary criticism in Sanskrit has not so far attracted the attention it deserves, in spite of the fact that in sheer mass and number, as in range and sweep, the *Alaṅkāra* works claim an equal place, if not higher, with works on other branches of Indology. It is, therefore, most encouraging to find, that the late Prof. Sastri, the doyen of Sanskrit studies in the South, thought it fit to choose this subject for a course of four lectures delivered under the auspices of the Annamalai University in 1931. In the first of these, he discusses the new way of literary criticism recognized by modern criticism as "new-criticism". It does not look upon the critic as a judge who is to pronounce judgment, but looks upon him as "a sensitive soul detailing his adventures among masterpieces of art." The exponent of neo-criticism in the West—described as impressionistic critic—has this against him that he thrusts his own personality, his own ego more than necessary upon the view of his readers, he seeks to substitute himself in place of the poet. But the neo-critic may say that this is better than substituting history or metaphysics or politics or biography. He at least endeavours to redream the poet's dream, to relive the life, and it may be said in his favour that he strives to replace one work of art by another. This is the central idea in neo-criticism—that art can find its *alter ego* only in art. *Genius* and *Taste* are inseparable phases of the same art.

From the oldest writers to Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta, Indian poets and critics have realised, achieved and established a synthesis between these two phases of the poetic art, viz. creation and criticism. The concept of synthesis has always played a very important part in all phases of Indian Culture—in religion, philosophy, no less than in the realm of art.

Another glorious synthesis in the realm of art achieved by Sanskrit literary criticism is the synthesis of *Law* and *Liberty*—rendered possible through the recognition and acceptance of the principle of *Vyañjanā*—suggestion. All expression is art. All speech has three distinct elements—expression, suppression and impression and suggestion is impression through suppression. The life of speech consists in this suppressed element and the greater the life that art has, the greater is the suppressed element in it. On the part of the artist there is much scope for anticipatory imagination, and on the part of the *Sahṛdaya* there is scope for anticipatory realisation, and poetic expression is a bridge which carries the art from the *Kavi* to the *Sahṛdaya*. *Law* in the realm of poetic art reduces itself to the numerous literary rules—and *Liberty* is the principle which determines the free play of the artist's genius. What harmonizes the attitude of the poet and the attitude of the critic is *Vyañjanā* or suggestion in the absence of which either art will groan under the dead weight of the doctrines of literary appreciation or it will run riot. This principle has also made it possible to achieve a beautiful synthesis between speech and thought, sound and sense—*Śabda* and *Artha*. If speech fulfils its purpose, there ought to be some amount of suppression. Hence naturally thought is wider than speech—in the field of art they are never co-extensive. This great synthesis of form and content is the greatest of our achievements in the realm of art—and we have been able to achieve it through the doctrine of *Vyañjanā*.

What, the author asks, at the beginning of his third lecture, is the secret of this *Vyañjanā*—the pivotal doctrine round which the whole subject of art criticism in Sanskrit revolves? Is it an element of novelty? What is suppressed and let out may appear novel, may be envisaged with a certain outlook of freshness. There is again scope for some sort of intellectual quest in the process of *Vyañjanā*—quest provided it leads to conquest. But the fact is that *Vyañjanā* makes it possible for art to relive its life in itself through a purely artistic process and to find its fulfilment and consummation in a definitely artistic purpose. *Vyañjanā* is an extraordinary process—it is *Lokottara*—it is essentially an artistic process, as it involves suppression not of the everyday

type but of the agreeable type—giving us an impression—not the ordinary common place impression, which sentences give, but a delicate impression described as artistic thrill. This was emphasised adequately by the Kasmirian critics under the leadership of Ānandavardhana, a great exponent of the Dhvani School.

In the fourth lecture—the author dilates upon the artistic purpose referred to above—which is *Rasa*. It enables you to feel that you have done with the formal distinctions of *Guṇas*, *Alaṃkāras*, etc. It enables you to effect a synthesis of all these formal elements in *Vakrokti*—in one word it enables you to synthesise *Law and Liberty*. While the exponents of the modern impressionistic school are iconoclasts, who committed the mistake of supposing that complete liberty could be achieved by throwing away all laws, all conventions, all traditional restrictions—forgetting that laws are the wings of poesy—the wings of artistic liberty or artistic beauty, the Indian art critic endeavoured to synthesise law and liberty through the aesthetic process of suggestion. *Guṇas*, *Alaṃkāras*, *Rītis* are not so many inhibitions, but are byways which could be connected and linked up with the high ways of literary criticism.

Now in regard to the aim of art, Romantic criticism emphasises the idea that *Beauty* is its own excuse for its being. Through *Vyañjanā*, through *Aucitya* or the synthesis of Adaptation, the two aims of art are harmonised—the moral aim and the purely aesthetic aim. If you follow up the highway of *Rasa* you are led to that stage of completed blissful absorption, when all fetters of individuality are dropped and some universal element is revealed. This highway of *Rasa* is neither a subterranean highway nor an empyrean highway—but an essentially human highway, could you but connect it with your own instincts.

Such in short is the gist of this very illuminating discourse and we must be grateful to the management of the Institute for giving us in this publication the ripe fruit of the vast erudition of the late Mahāmahopādhyāya.

- 2 . RASARATNAPRADĪPIKĀ OF ALLARĀJA Ed. by
 Dr. R. N. Dandekar for the Bhāratiya Vidyā Granthāvali,
 No. 8, 1945, Rs. 2 As. 12

The value of the edition does not lie in the contribution it makes to our knowledge of Rasa, for it is a very elementary treatise on the subject, unblushingly borrowing or paraphrasing its main sources viz. the Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata and the Daśarūpaka of Dhanañjaya. The treatment is lucid and systematic, and the illustrations chosen are not only apposite, but are as such fine specimens of poetry ; and as Dr. Dandekar remarks "Brevity, methodical treatment of the subject, and absence of unnecessary diffuseness render this work quite suitable for a beginner". Dr. Dandekar's very critical introduction gives us a very close analysis of the contents of its six chapters ; next, the date and identity of Allarāja are discussed, and lastly the critical apparatus available for the edition is stated. The notes at the end mention borrowings from the main sources and also the numerous parallelisms with other works. Then follow three appendices giving a list of works and authors mentioned by name in the work, illustrative stanzas from the RRP found in Daśarūpaka, Kāvya-prakāśa and Sāhityadarpana, and an alphabetical index of verses cited in the RRP. The work is a model of editing giving evidence of the great diligence and conscientious application of scholarship which regards nothing as beneath its notice.

- 3 THE MUDRĀRĀKṢASANĀṬAKAKATHĀ OF MAHĀ-
 DEVA Ed. by Dr. V. Raghavan. The Saraswati Mahal
 Series No. 1, 1946. Rs. 2/8

This story of the world-famous play in simple Sanskrit prose is for the first time published from a single Ms. preserved in the Mahārāja Sarfoji's Saraswati Mahal Library, Tanjore. The work itself is very insignificant ; but the introduction prefacing the work, and twice as large as the work itself, is the most valuable part of the edition. After giving the personal information about the author, Dr. Raghavan brings out points on which " it cannot be said that Mahādeva was careful enough to understand fully

the text of *Viśākhadatta*". Then the story is given at length, followed by an account of over eleven different versions of the story, as given by, among others, Jagaddhara, Anantabhaṭṭa, and as found in the *Purāṇas*, the *Bṛhatkathā*, and the Buddhist, Jain and Greek sources. At the end there are notes, textual, traditional and historical, followed by an alphabetical index of the names in the story.

Like the *Mālatī-Mādhvakathā*, published by Prof. N. A. Gore for the Oriental Book-Agency, Poona, this story in simple prose will serve the purpose of introducing the complicated plot of the play to the beginner who is rather bewildered in the maze of the multiplicity of incidents and their intricate interweaving in *Viśākhadatta's* drama: it thus makes a useful addition to a new branch of ancillary texts, already opened up by Prof. Gore's publication above referred to. Dr. Raghavan's editing is thorough and masterly.

4 कामशुद्धिः नाम एकाङ्करूपकम्. *Kāmasūddhi*, a one-act play: reprinted from *Amṛtavāṇī* 1946, By Dr. V. Raghavan.

This one-act play is based on an event supposed to have preceded the story of *Kāma's* setting for the conquest of God *Śiva*, narrated by *Kālidāsa* in the third canto of the *Kumārasambhava*. Dr. Raghavan displays herein the same mythopœic fertility of the Hindu mind "which engendered with tropical luxuriance the flowers, the vines and the weeds of fable". *Kāma* meets his beloved in an unusual mood, who no more joys in his triumphs over Gods and mortals, and is filled with disgust at the immorality in the world for which her husband's influence is chiefly responsible. Nor are the words of *Madhu*, the friend of *Kāma*, of any avail. *Rati* would renounce this life and practise penance, and be no longer a party to the moral deterioration of the world, in which unwittingly she had borne a part along with her husband—the Love God. She then practises hard penance, and lord *Śiva*, pleased with her devotion, reveals himself to her. He advises her not to abandon her husband, but help him to attain a better nature. He promises her that he would soon so devise that the Love God would be emboldened to attack the Lord

himself. Then he would be purified in a fire ordeal, so that his earthly, gross nature would be burnt up and he would emerge a divine spirit of Love to attain which will be well worth the endeavour of men: so purified Love would be one of the four ends of human existence. Rati is pleased, and eagerly longs for the day when her husband would appear in this new incarnation.

Thus has Dr. Raghavan woven a pretty fancy and supplied a prelude to the story of the Kumārasambhava. The language is full of the echoes of Kālidāsa and the dialogue lucid and lively.

5 **ĀSVAGHOṢA** by Bimala Churn Law, M.A., B.L., Ph.D.,
D. Litt., Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal Monograph
Series, Vol. I.

This brief Monograph on the life of Āsvaghōṣa attempts "to build up a connected account of the life and labours of Āsvaghōṣa", the great Buddhist poet brought up in the Theravāda tradition. The Preface gives very briefly what the author attempts in the five chapters of the book—viz. a brief survey of Āsvaghōṣa's writings, estimate of him as a man, as a poet, and as a Teacher, and as one possessed of masterly power of delineation of human character and objects of nature. Every statement is substantiated by reference to Āsvaghōṣa's work and other relative documents, and it impresses us with its stupendous scholarship, its grasp of details, its sense of accuracy, and its scrupulous regard for saying only what is historically authenticated, no more, no less.

A mistake on page 36 may be pointed out: the word *Anuprāsa* is rendered as "synonyms". But this is just oversight and no more.

This is altogether a pioneer attempt to reconstruct the life of the poet-philosopher from all available material, and without the author's deep study of Buddhist literature and thought, it would not have been possible for him to delineate with such clearness the great personality of Āsvaghōṣa, who is one of the most outstanding teachers of Buddhism as it was at the dawn of the Christian Era.

6 KASHMIRI LYRICS—By J. L. Kaul

This is a collection of 140 lyrics which represent the songs of some five centuries. They have such a distinctive flavour each telling "not merely of familiar matter of today, but of eternal verities glimpsed through rugged experiences of life". The author claims that "here is a collection, a golden treasury (if you will) of Kashmiri lyrics which may not be found to include anything that has not a poetic feeling, sentiment or mood or beauty of word and phrase". The music of the language and its rhythmic charm are impossible to reproduce in translation—and if it is a lyric, "the very stuff of its experience, its substance or contents may suffer equally with the form"; for a lyric—as a moment's monument, bears the stamp of the poet's experience—its individuality, its unique mood and moment, "which integrate music, rhythm and meaning of a poem". It is impossible for one, not born to the language, to the music, rhythm and melody thereof, to give judgment on these specimens of lovely poetry: and yet it is possible to realise from the beautiful English rendering of these songs of known and unknown singers—these antique strains—expressing the common aspirations of mankind, and the deeper yearnings of the soul, "how one touch of nature makes the whole world kin".

7 THE ANCIENT WISDOM OF WALES—By D. Jeffrey Williams, May 1945. Adyar Library

The first section of this little book gives a few excerpts from *Barddas*: a collection of Druidic fragments and Triads published by the Welsh Mss. Society in 1862. The second section deals with the symbolism and philosophy implicit in these Triads and in the last section the path of spiritual attainment coming down from Druidic sources is outlined. The book will not interest the lay reader, but to the spiritualist and mystic the book will have a compelling attraction.

C. R. Devadhar

THE HERITAGE OF KARNATAKA (in Relation to India)

by Prof. R. S. Mugali, M.A., B.T. (Satyasodhana Publishing House, Fort, Bangalore City. Ordinary, Rs. 4 ; Library Edition, Rs. 5)

There are many educated Indians who are not familiar with the literary and cultural wealth of any linguistic province other than their own. There is a great ignorance among them about the greatness of ancient Karnataka, its historical importance and achievement. Very few people in other parts of India know even the name of Karnataka. There is, therefore, a great need for a proper presentation of the political and cultural history of Karnataka to the public. During the last twenty years, some books on the history, language, literature and culture of Karnataka have appeared in English. The book, under review, by Prof. Mugali, a Kannada play-wright, poet, novelist, short story-writer and essayist, is a notable addition to the series of books on the subject. In this handy volume, it has been shown that Karnataka built numerous empires in the past. Very few people know that the great empires of the Kadambas, the Cālukyas, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, the Yādavas, Vijayanagara and Mysore were all Kannada powers who showed high capacity for military organisation, conquest and consolidation. The boundaries of Karnataka then extended far in the north to the Godāvarī and in the south to the Kāverī.

The main part of the work is made up of two sections—the former, comprising of four chapters, is a rapid survey of the Ancient Karnataka. During the epic period, Karnataka took shape as a region and people, speaking the Kannada language of the Dravidian people. Kannada then stood for country, people as well as language. The second section, styled the Historical Karnataka, which forms the major portion of the volume containing sixteen chapters, is devoted to a wide variety of interesting topics—Karnataka religion, social customs, martial and civic life, fine arts and literature through which a nation manifests its unique features of culture.

The distinctive and substantial contribution of Karnataka culture to India lies in its military skill, synthesis and harmony in religious and social matters, its full-fledged aesthetic life,

and in its fine arts like architecture, sculpture, painting, music and dancing. Karnataka architecture is remarkable for immortalising in stone religion, legend, history, and contemporary life in the form of dance, dress and manners. The carvings in temples and caves are the expressions in stone of the grand conceptions of our ancients. Nor are the monolithic images of the Jaina Tirthankaras less worthy of note. Of these, the image of Gommateswara, at Sravanabelgola (in Mysore State), standing $57\frac{1}{2}$ ft. high on a hillock, is by far the most stupendous and the biggest open air statue in the whole of Asia. Fine chased work in silver and gold, very delicate carving in sandal and ivory, wood-painting and clay-modelling are some of the distinguishing features of Karnataka fine arts. The Karnataka style of music has "set the fashion" in music to the whole of India. Indian religion and philosophy would look poorer if we take away from them the three great Ācāryas of Karnataka—Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja, Madhva, the founders of Advaita, Viśiṣṭādvaita, and Dvaita systems of philosophy, and also the names Vidyāranya and Śāyaṇācārya. Karnataka was the inspirer of that school of devotion initiated by Śrī Madhvācārya and followed by Vyāsarāya, Purandaraḍāsa, Caitanya and numerous other saints. Haridāśas (the wandering singers) of Karnataka carried the most profound truths in simple songs of devotion to every home. Karnataka has given to India great thinkers, dialecticians, expositors as well as poets of high order in the realm of Sanskrit and Prakrit. A chapter is devoted to the survey of Karnataka literature which brings to view not only Kāvyaś, works on poetics, prosody, grammar and lexicon, but also works on biography, medicine, science, mathematics, astrology and other sciences and arts. Karnataka has, to some extent, exercised its influence on the language and literature of the sister provinces in India—Telgu and Marathi. The last chapter deals with the modern Kannada literature which has rendered signal service in the cultural unification of the province and the cultivation of genuine taste for Kannada literature.

The author has rightly refuted the view of E. P. Rice, based on ignorance and half-knowledge, that Karnataka has "contributed extremely little to the stock of the world's knowledge and inspira-

tion". and has shown convincingly by citing copious examples that Kannada literature has made a genuine contribution to the literature of India and of the world, and does contain "that which stimulates hope and inspires to great enterprises". In conclusion, the author fervently hopes that :

"Karnataka, which is to-day a medley of administrative units cut up into divisions of the most awkward character, is sure to make a fuller contribution to India when its political and cultural aspirations are fulfilled and when the life of the province begins to flow in full tide".

The general treatment of the subject reveals the author's intimate acquaintance with different aspects of the culture of Karnataka. The book is the outcome of long and laborious work in this field. Prof. Mugali has explored all the material available—epigraphic, documentary, historical and literary—and has quoted authorities profusely in support of his statements. The exposition of the subject is distinguished by clarity and conviction. Each chapter, precise, well-arranged, informative and instructive, is full of interest. The chapters on martial life, religious and social customs, fine arts, and literature cannot but fill one with admiration for the ancient glory of Karnataka. We may say, without hesitation, that there is no other book in English, giving such a lucid, synthetic and authentic account of a linguistic province within the brief scope of two hundred and odd pages. The book is supplied with an exhaustive and valuable bibliography and an index. The work, we are sure, will contribute towards a fuller knowledge of the national life of Karnatak and is worthy of study by all interested in the subject. Prof. Mugali is a pioneer in writing a book of this type, and if each linguistic province produces a volume on a similar model, ignorance and misunderstanding about provincial literature and culture will give place to mutual understanding and regard, and enrich, on the whole, the cultural history of India.

Significantly, the work contains a brief Foreword by Mr. M.H. Krishna, Director of Archaeology, Mysore, with whose concluding remark, we wish to close the review :

"Through this work, Karnataka will, I am sure, gain a popular place among the learned in the immediate future of India."

S. T. Pappu

"HISTORY OF GINGEE AND ITS RULERS" By Rao Bahadur C. S. Shrinivasachari, M.A., Professor of History, Annamalai University, pp. X+625 Published by the University Annamalaiagar; 1942.

Gingee is an enchanting name in South Indian History. To the Marathas it has a still greater fascination. Strategically it can be reckoned as one of the first ten forts in Indian History. During the five hundred years and more of its annals it has successively passed through Hindu, Muslim, Maratha, French and English hands and hence the material for its history is to be found in more than half a dozen languages. For doing proper justice to this material a man must be very versatile in various Oriental, European and Vernacular languages. The writer of the present monograph is well up in some but not all these languages with the result that half the material used in this History is naturally copied from others' works and is thus more in the nature of editing than writing in the original sense. To speak only of the Marathi material it has been very loosely knitted in the thread of the narrative. All the same the author gives long quotations from various authorities which form the raw material for the monograph and thus places under obligation the future students of its detailed history. The construction of the narrative is anything but compact, though the book may very well serve as a guide to the sources. A detailed Index covering 90 pages as also the Bibliography together with illustrations and maps add to the vividness and utility of the book.

T. S. S.

SOURCES OF THE HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC Vol. IV 'Sawānihāt-i-Mumtāz' Translated By S. Muhammad Husayn Nainar. University of Madras; 1944. Price Rs. 4 or S. 7. pp. 301.

This is a sumptuous volume on a rather trivial subject. The so called Nawwābs of the Carnatic were never Sovereign Kings in the correct sense and their history is more of the nature of a dynasty than of the land over which they ruled. The present Volume covers the time when the administration had passed into the hands of the English and thus has no value than the history

of a family. The political questions connected with the transfer of power into the hands of the English fall into the province of constitutional or international law and the raising of these issues in this book is out of place, though it sheds a powerful light on the ethics of English usurpation of India. The last hundred pages are taken up by the detailed Index to the four Volumes in this series.

T. S. S.

THE CULTURAL HISTORY OF THE HINDUS by Chandra Chakravarty: Published by Vijaya Krishna Bros. 81, Vivekānanda Road, Calcutta; Pages 376; Size $7\frac{1}{2}$ " \times 5"; Price Rs. 8.

Like all previous books of Mr. Chandra Chakravarty the present volume contains much valuable information gathered from innumerable sources by continuous study and reflection. Mr. Chakravarty correctly observes:— "*culture is the inflorescence of various complex factors of race, race fusions, environment, land, climate, and the stimulating effect of actions and reactions, of foreign contacts.*" In accordance with this definition of culture the present book deals with such topics pertaining to Hindu Culture as *Arts, Philosophy, Morals, Law, Medicine, Astronomy, Religious Festivals, Epics and the Purāṇas, Dramas, Economic life in Ancient India, Indo-Iranian contacts, Indo-Chinese relation, Sex life in Ancient India, Cultivated Plants*, and allied subjects. The author possesses a marvellous capacity for condensing the results of his extensive reading for the benefit of his readers. His books are not only highly informative to the lay reader but very suggestive to the research scholar as they are sure to widen his vision with respect to the fields of his study. Every one interested in our ancient Indian heritage and culture should possess a set of Mr. Chakravarty's books which are a veritable encyclopaedia of Indian Cultural history. We wish Mr. Chakravarty many years of energetic intellectual life to carry on his unremitting toil in the field of Indian cultural historiography.

P. K. Gode

PARMAR INSCRIPTIONS (in Dhar State) 875-1310 A. D.
by C. B. Lele, Department of History and Museum;
Dhar State Historical Records Series; Pages xvii + 100;
Size :— 7" × 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ "

It is a matter for pride that the present rulers of the Dhar State are fully conscious of the deep debt they owe to their early ancestors like Muñja and Bhoja of immortal fame. It is, however, an irony of circumstances that the image of the inspiring Sarasvatī (goddess of learning) A. D. 1035—worshipped by Bhoja in the *Śārādā Sadana* should migrate to the British Museum, London and settle there. It is high time for the present rulers of Dhar to get this image back to Dhar and worship this Sarasvatī at Dhar, with its great literary traditions. King Bhoja in his motto verse found in many of his inscriptions considered Kingship (*vasudhūdhīpatyam*) as a "fleeting cloud". This statement is true for all time and for all nations. Verily Bhoja has become immortal not because of his conquests and achievements but because of his learning and patronage to learning. Let our princes, potentates and ministers remember this simple truth. Literature is the very soul of a nation and we believe in the immortality of the soul. All civilizations of the world have immortalized themselves to the extent to which they have produced literature bearing on all aspects of life and culture.

The small volume of inscriptions of the Parmar rulers of Dhar (A. D. 875-1310) with a Critical Introduction by Mr. C. B. Lele augurs well for the *Dhar State Historical Records Series* founded by His Highness the Maharaja of Dhar in 1943 on the auspicious day of the 2000th year of the Great King Vikramāditya of Ujjain. The editor has added introductory notes in English to all inscriptions in the volume, either in Sanskrit or Prakrit. The last chapter contains pieces of numerous incomplete inscriptions and other pedestal inscriptions on the Hindu and Jain images at Dhar, Mandu and other places in the Dhar State. An exhaustive table of contents together with a good index would have increased the utility of the volume. Even as it stands the volume would be useful as a reference book to individual scholars.

P. K. Gode

CATALOGUE OF THE ANUP SANSKRIT LIBRARY
 prepared by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja and K. M. K. Sarma,
 M. O. L., Fasciculus II (pages 101-200); Published by
 the Govt. of Bikaner, Bikaner, 1946.

We welcome this second fasciculus of the Catalogue of the Anup Sanskrit Library, which contains many old and rare Mss. which have not yet been exploited by research workers in this country. Fasciculus I of this Catalogue was published in 1944. We hope that subsequent Fascicules will be published now in a more expeditious manner than hitherto. At present the Mss. in the Anup Library are not lent out to scholars or institutions outside Bikaner. We trust that the Govt. of Bikaner will lift up this ban against the use of their valuable Mss. by competent research bodies and individual scholars in this country. The Catalogues excite the curiosity of scholars but to lead this curiosity into critical channels the Mss. described in the Catalogues must be made available to these scholars under proper safe-guards. Scholars or institutions in this country are not rich enough to get the required Mss. in the above Library copied at their own expense, especially when these Mss. are required for casual historical research and not for editing purposes.

The Catalogue under review records information in different columns about each Ms. under the headings-General No., Serial No., Work, Author, No. of folia, Date, Owner, Remarks. In spite of these details the need of extracts of the beginning and end of each Ms. for the use of research workers still remains unfulfilled. We trust that the Bikaner Darbar will in the near future give us a complete Descriptive Catalogue of the Mss. recorded in the present Catalogue. The present fascicule begins with Ms. No. 1354 and ends with No. 2705. Many of the Mss. recorded in this Catalogue are dated and hence very important for chronological studies. The example of the Bikaner Darbar in starting its different series of publications such as the *Gāṅga Oriental Series*, the *Satul Oriental Series* (*Rājasthāni and Hindī*) etc. is worthy of being followed by other states in Rajputana, owning valuable collections of Mss. and other historical records.

VIRABHĀNŪDAYA-KĀVYAM of Mādhava, edited (with Text and Translation into English) by Mr. K. K. Lele and Pt. Anant Shāstri Upādhyāya with a Critical Analysis by Dr. Hirananda Shastri (Published under the authority of the Rewa Darbar) with a Foreword by Diwan Bahadur Janaki Prasad, Rewa, Pages (iv + 28 + 142 + 50 + viii); Size :— $6\frac{1}{4}'' \times 9\frac{1}{2}''$

It is curious that a historical publication of the present type should not record the year in which it was published. The Preface to this book by Dr. Hiranand Shastri, dated 9th July 1938, leads one to infer that this book was published in 1938. Of the four scholars connected with this book three viz. Mr. Lele, Dr. Shastri and Diwan Bahadur Janaki Prasad have unfortunately passed away! As the book has been sent to the B. O. R. Institute by the recently founded Baghelkhand Historical Records Commission for review, I have great pleasure in reviewing it owing to its unique character and historical importance.

In 1935 I published two papers¹ on Virabhānu, the hero of the present poem. These papers established my contact with the late Diwan Bahadur Janaki Prasad, then Adviser to H. H. the Maharaja of Rewa, to whom must go the credit of bringing to the notice of scholars the unique Manuscript of the "*Virabhānūdaya-Kāvya*", on which the present edition is based. This Ms. was sent by Janaki Prasad to Dr. Hirananda Shastri, who published in 1925 a *Memoir* on it called "*The Baghela Dynasty of Rewa*". This was followed by some criticisms on this *Memoir* by Prof. S. H. Hodivala. Dr. Shastri subsequently modified some of his views expressed in the *Memoir* and published in 1930 his article on "*Further Notes on the Baghela Dynasty of Rewa*" in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*.

The unique Ms. of the poem is not altogether free from serious mistakes. The editors have, therefore, followed the cautious method of correcting only obvious errors without taking any undue liberties with the text. The *Critical Analysis* of the poem by Dr. Shastri in 28 pages is practically a critical introduction to

¹ See *Calcutta Oriental Journal*, Vol II, pp. 197-199 and 251-258.

this edition and is very helpful in understanding the valuable historical information found in the poem. This information tallies with that supplied by Mussalman writers and hence trustworthy—observes Dr. Shastri. The poem possesses considerable literary merit, as it evinces high descriptive power, characteristic of some of the historical *Kāvya*s, that have come down to us.

The Ms. of the poem was written on Kashmiri paper at Benares (*Kāśī*) in A. D. 1591 by one Tulasīdāsa, son of a Kāyastha called Kṛṣṇadāsa. There are *two seals* of Virabhadra on the first and last folio of the Ms. one of which mentions *Akbar*, and the other, *Sultan Salīm*. Virabhadra was the grand-son of Virabhānu the hero of the poem. The Ms. appears to have been an heir-loom of the Rewa state and Virabhadra must have had a special liking for it as it gives an account of his own birth. The first seal is dated 965, obviously of the Hijri era, which is the 3rd year of Akbar's reign, as Akbar ascended the throne in Hijri 963 (A. D. 1556). The second seal is not dated but is connected with Jehangir (Sultan Salīm). According to Dr. Shastri, Virabhadra, was born about A. D. 1535 i. e. in the life-time of Virabhānu. The poem tells us that Humāyun regarded Virabhānu as his brother and sent to him some presents 'on the occasion of the birth of Virabhadra. According to Dr. Shastri the poem was *composed* by Mādhava, son of Abhayacandra, a Kāyastha of noble descent, in A. D. 1555 to celebrate the birth of his patron's grandson Virabhadra. The poem is important as it gives the genealogy of the Baghela dynasty for several generations. I note with pleasure the reference to the celebrated musician *Tānasena* in this poem (X, 23, 26, 28). Dr. Shastri has done full justice to the historical contents of the poem in his masterly critical Analysis.

All students of the history of the Rewa State owe a deep debt of gratitude to Diwan Bahadur Janaki Prasad, Dr. Shastri, Mr. Lele and Pt. Anant Shastri for their co-operation in the study and publication of the work under review. Their thanks are also due to the Rewa Darbar for publishing this work under state authority and thus maintaining the great literary traditions of the Rewa rulers, who were not only patrons of learning but were themselves men of high literary attainments.

My contact with Diwan Bahadur Janaki Prasad though accidental lasted upto his sad demise about six years ago. Subsequently I published a paper on a contemporary Ms. of Bhānuji Dīkṣita's Commentary on the Amarakośa dated A. D. 1649 in the *Journal of the Bombay University* (September, 1942, pp. 90-99). In this paper I attempted an identification of Kīrtisīmha Baghela, the patron of Bhānuji. This paper roused the interest of Prof. A. H. Nizami of the Rewa College who took up the clues furnished in my paper and sent me a paper on Kīrtisīmha and the line of Baghelas to which he belonged. I got this paper published in the *Bhāratiya Vidyā*, Bombay. During my contact with Prof. Nizami I noticed in him a great desire to found a historical research Institute at Rewa. His efforts in this direction have now borne fruit in the foundation of *Baghelkhandu Historical Records Commission*, with Prof. Nizami himself as its first secretary. I feel confident that the Rewa Darbar will develop this new institution into a first-class research centre and thus establish its scholarly contacts with other research centres in India by the preservation and publication of their valuable records, which possess great value not only for the history of the Rewa State but for Indian history in general. Without an intensive study of the provincial sources of history we cannot reconstruct the history of India on scientific lines.

P. K. Gode

VEDIC BIBLIOGRAPHY by Dr. R. N. Dandekar, published
as Extra Series, No. VII of the New Indian Antiquary,
1946, Demi 8 vo, pp. xx + 398. Karnatak Publishing house,
Bombay. Price Rs. 15/-

M. Louis Renou of the Paris University Published his "Bibliographie Vedique" in 1931. It contained some 6500 entries under 201 sections, and recorded all works bearing on Vedic Literature upto the year 1930. Renou's work required to be continued and Dr. Dandekar came forward with his "Vedic Bibliography" which is just issued. The work covers a period of 15 years and brings the Bibliography upto 1945. It contains some 3500 entries under 168 sections, and includes a complete Bibliography of Indus civilisation, a bibliography appearing for the first time. Every scholar of Indology must remain very grateful to Dr. Dandekar for his useful and notable contribution to Vedic studies.

A layman is likely to think that Dr. Dandekar's work is only a continuation of the work of M. Renou. All bibliographies require to be continued periodically, but they cannot be prepared without enormous amount of industry and patience and I ask him just to study a few pages of the present work to appreciate the labours of Dr. Dandekar. Dr. Dandekar does not blindly follow the grouping of works adopted by M. Renou. He has several innovations to his credit, and to me his method appears to be more rational than that of his predecessor. Dr. Dandekar notes a few entries which escaped the attention of Renou.

I heard it said in certain quarters that the work would have been more useful if its scope had been enlarged a bit and topics arranged matter-wise; but they forget that a bibliography is not Subject-Index. We may point out that there exists for that purpose the monumental work "Vedic Index of names and subjects" by Macdonell and Keith, 2 Vols. 1912. A re-issue if not a revised edition of this work is urgently needed by the young generation of scholars to whom the work has not been accessible for years.

We request Dr. Dandekar to continue this noble work and issue periodically further additions to his Vedic Bibliography and suggest that he should similarly undertake revision of the Vedic Index.

P. L. V.

THE VAIṢṆAVOPANISAD Translated into English by .Shri

T. R. Shrinivasa Ayyangar, B.A., L.T.—Adyar Library

Series No. 52. Adyar, 1915. Dm. 8° pp. 498. Cloth Rs. 10

This is the third in the series of English Translations of 108 Upanisads planned by the Adyar Library. There are fourteen Upanisads in it. The first अथक्रोप० explains the potency of वृसिंहानुष्टुप-मन्त्र for easy liberation, expatiates on the greatness of ध्यानयोग. The कलिसंतारणोप० gives the potency of muttering the Lord's name.—the मन्त्र हरे राम हरे राम राम राम हरे हरे । हरे कृष्ण हरे कृष्ण कृष्ण कृष्ण हरे हरे ॥ The कृष्णोप० details the esoteric significance of the various incidents in the Kṛṣṇa incarnation of the Lord. The author freely of draws on the Bhāgavata Purāṇa; follows the Caturvyūha doctrine. Quercly it says that the associates of कृष्ण were reborn as the associates of राम in the next incarnation. The गरुडोप० emphasises the Garuḍa Vidyā as an antidote against all kinds of poisons (literal and metaphorical). It gives claptrap formulæ against serpent bites. In the Gopāla Tāpinī—(Pūrva and Uttara), all the sublime Vedantic philosophy is prostituted for baser purposes. A full sway is given to Tantric monstrosities. The description of the ब्रह्मन् as non-enjoyer of anything is utilised to explain कृष्ण's celibacy. The R̥gvedic मन्त्र—द्राक्षुपर्णा... is quoted and the word सुपर्णा explained as a tree with beautiful leaves. Worship of Vaiṣṇava images is recommended. The सांख्य and Vedānta cosmology is indiscriminately mixed. The Tārasārop. opens with a dialogue between याज्ञवल्क्य and his disciple at the court of king जनक. The अविष्कृतेश्वर Jyotirlinga at Benares is eulogised. Following Tantric form—the नाद, बिन्दु, शक्ति, कीलक etc. of various Vaiṣṇava मन्त्रs are explained. श्रीराम is eulogised as the highest परमात्मन्.

त्रिपाद् बिभूतिमहानारायणीयोप० expatiates upon the सगुण and निर्गुण (aspectful and aspectless) ब्रह्मन् and prescribes the महानारायणमन्त्र for liberation. Following the माण्डूक्योप० it further subdivides the four kinds of souls—वैश्वानर, तेजस, प्राज्ञ and तृप्य. Following the सूत्र—लीलावत् तु कैवल्यम्—it resolves the contradiction between सगुण and निर्गुण ब्रह्मन्. True to late Vaiṣṇava schools, it describes the importance of गुरुप्रसाद (preceptor's favour) for liberation. The Bhāgavata practices of the भगवन्नामस्मरण, जप and संकीर्तन are prescribed. It contains a picturesque description of the passage

of the liberated soul through various लोका to the Ādi Nārāyaṇa. Tāntrīc influence is unmistakable in giving the unmeaning single syllables. भक्तियोग is recommended for feeble devotees against the सालम्ब and निरालम्बयोग. The दत्तात्रेयोप० gives the mystic formula of दत्तात्रेय for liberation. The नारायणोप० emphasises the मन्त्र ॐ नमो नारायणाय for liberation. The वृसिंहतापिनी (पूर्व and उत्तर) gives the सामविद्या i. e. a formula of वृसिंह called वृसिंहमन्त्रराज for liberation. Esoterically it connects the four kinds of souls to the four parts of प्रणव. In the second part is given a good account of मायावाद free from Tantric excesses. रामतापिनी (पूर्व and उत्तर) explains how the attribution of specific form to the formless ब्रह्मन् is for the benefit of the practitioner. It gives राममन्त्र and यन्त्र and tries to mystify it. The second part refers to various Bhakti sects—Sauras, Gāṇapatyas, Śaivas, Śāktas, Vaiṣṇavas. It asserts that all heinous sins are removed by the mere practice of the राममन्त्र.

The Rāmarahasyop.—expounds the various राममन्त्रs, the पूजायन्त्रs and their great potency. It refers to the Bhagavadgītā, Viṣṇu sahasranāma, Ramāṣṭottarī and baṣyl rosary.

The Vāsudevop.—The sanctity and esoteric significance of the Ūrdhva Puṇḍra of Gopīcandana is explained. The Hayagrīvopaniṣad gives the हयग्रीवमन्त्रs and their potency.

From the above description it is clear that the above Upaniṣads are the products of very late age. Most of them are based on the Purāṇas, Āgamas and Saṁhitās. They have no real philosophic interest; but are written under sectarian influence. The tāntrīc excesses in most of them are irritating. The unmeaning single words and formulæ for liberation strike as a great mockery of philosophy—Even the Sāṁkhya and Vedāntīc cosmology and cosmogony is admixed with the Paurāṇic. But they have got great cultural and social significance.

The translator has greatly succeeded in giving a faithful rendering of the original. The elucidatory matter in brackets is of great help to the novice. The uniform reference in obscure passages to the comm. of Śrī Upaniṣad—Brahma-Yogin has given the work a unity and harmony.

The printing and get up of the book are faultless and pleasing. We heartily recommend the book to all students of Indian philosophy and religion.

R. N. Gaidhani

THE NYĀYAKUSUMĀÑJALI OF UDAYANĀCĀRYA,
Vol. I, Books I and II, Tr. into English by Swami
Ravi Tīrtha, Adyar Library Series No. 53, Adyar 1946,
Dm. 8° pp. 117, Rs. 4/-

Nyāyakusumāñjali, a masterpiece in Indian Dialectics, gives the best vindication of Indian Theism against the atheistic schools of the day. That the fragrance of its blossoms should also gratify English readers was a long-felt need. Unfortunately the book under review best illustrates how a literal translation becomes unintelligible and even boring to the general reader. The piquant implications of the original Sanskrit expressions are lost when taken out of that background. Even Sanskrit scholars require the aid of exhaustive commentaries to grasp the full trend of the original discussion. It goes without saying that the English garb will be unappealing unless laced with exhaustive explanatory notes. The translator seems to be conscious of it as he has appended a few scrappy notes at the end. In spite of the author's sincere efforts to do full justice to the text and its spirit, both the translation and notes leave much to be desired. The few notes at the end could well have been printed below the translation at their proper places.

The translator has promised a scholarly Introduction to the second volume. Dr. C. Kunhan Raja in his 'Foreword' assures to append to the second volume a complete Glossary and explanation of technical words. We welcome his announcement of a new critical edition of the text with the complete commentary of Varadarāja. "This translation can at best be only an aid to the understanding of the original for those who cannot follow the Sanskrit text without such an aid."

R. N. Gaidhani

THE YADAVĀBHYUDAYA OF ŚRĪ VEDĀNTĀCĀRYA
WITH THE COMM. OF APPAYYA DĪKṢITA. Cantos,
13-18. Edited by T. T. Shrinivas Gopalachar. Published
by University of Mysore Oriental Library Publications
Sanskrit Series. 86. Mysore 1944. pp. xxxii + 428.
Rs. 3-4-0

Though tradition acclaims only five classics in Sanskrit, there are many more, some of which are of great beauty and merit. The Yadavābhyudaya of Śrī Vedāntācārya alias Venkṭa-nātha, one of the greatest teachers of Viśiṣṭādvāita in Southern India (1270-1369) would claim a high place in the Sanskrit Poetry. Vedant Desika is a polymoth and versatile writer, having to his credit more than 120 works in Sanskrit and Tamil, of which the following deserve mention.

(1) The Hamsa-Saṁdeśa—a message by Śrī Rāma to Sītā in the Aśoka Vana; after the fashion of the Meghadūta.

(2) Śrīpārthasāra on architecture, (3) Rasabhūmāmṛtam on Medicine, (4) Vṛkṣabhūmāmṛtam on horticulture.

The work under review deals with the life story of Lord Śrī Kṛṣṇa as given in the Harivaṁśa. The work has been divided into 24 cantos; the first 12 cantos with the commentary have been already published in two volumes by the Vāṇi Vilāsa Press, Shrīrangam.

The thirteenth canto opens with Kṛṣṇa's meeting with Rukmiṇī in the temple of Śacī at the time of her marriage with Śīsupāla; and the eighteenth closes with the description of ॐ's return to Dvārakā with the Pārijātaka tree from the celestial gardens.

The funny description in the 13th canto (vv. 44-71) of the haste of ladies to see Lord Kṛṣṇa with his bride returning to Dvārakā strongly reminds one of the parallel description in the Kadāmbarī when the prince Candrāpīda enters the capital from his school. The description of marriage-rites in this canto is after Kalidāsean fashion. The eighteenth canto contains a beautiful description of Kṛṣṇa's return journey by air from Indra's Gardens in heaven. The work is full of figures of speech, many 'worth

the perusal. The play of sentiments in the 13th canto is worth the notice.

Fortunately the work has got a versatile and appreciative commentator in Appayya Dikṣita, the great champion of Advaitism. It is a queer freak of Destiny that a staunch Śaiva should comment on the Life story of Lord Viṣṇu by an inveterate Vaiṣṇava. Dikṣita himself informs us that he composed the commentary at the request of his patron king Shri Chinna Timmarāja.

The commentary is a masterly achievement of Dikṣita. He has brought all his learning to bear upon this composition, quoting aptly and profusely from works on Grammar, Poetics, Drama, Prosody, the Śruti, the Upaniṣads, the epics, the Purāṇas, the Smṛtis, the classics and others. His versatility with Sanskrit Literature is seen at its best here, and rightly enough; as he has not less than 54 works to his credit.

The Sanskrit Introduction deals with the author and the current story of this composition. It gives a classified list of his works. Next it deals with the commentator — his parentage and date and lists his writings. Rightly it takes Dikṣita to task for certain wrong interpretations, a few instances of which are given in the Introduction. The appendices index alphabetically the verses and the quotations in the commentary.

This edition gives for the first time a critical text with the comm. It is unfortunate that enough care has not been bestowed in getting the work correctly printed. This is all the more displeasing in a critical edition. The Introduction is rather sketchy, merely touching certain points.

All the same, the editor and the authorities of the University of Mysore deserve heartfelt gratitude of the Sanskrit world for undertaking to publish a classic of great beauty. We look with eagerness to the publication of the rest of the cantos.

R. N. Gaidhani

**THE TANTRASAMUCCAYA OF NĀRĀYAṆA WITH THE
COMM. VIMARŚINĪ OF ŚĀṆKARA & VIVARAṆA
OF NĀRĀYAṆAŚIṢYA. Part I. Pāṭalas I-IV. Edited by
V. A. Rāmaswami Shāstri, M A., Trivandrum Sanskrit
Series No. 151. Trivandrum, 1945. pp. 308+140. Rs. 3.**

Religion has pervaded all human activities and achievements in India. Even art and architecture developed under the benevolent shelter of religion. The Puranic orientation made India essentially a land of temples and holy places. Under their inspiration a separate technique of temple architecture and religious observances steadily developed in India from centuries long before Christ. Writers of Tantras, Āgamas and Samhitās developed it into a full fledged science.

The five-fold topics of a Tantra are enumerated in the couplet :
सर्गश्च प्रतिसर्गश्च देवताराधनं तथा । षट्कर्मसाधनं चैव ध्यानयोगश्चतुर्विधः ॥ As an introduction to the third topic of देवताराधन the Tantras lay down elaborate details regarding construction of temples to be consecrated to different deities. These are the manuals of Indian Architecture. Indian residents of dingy-looking houses will be wonderstruck to read plans for twelve-storied buildings laid down in these manuals.

The present work, as its title suggests, is a compilation of the topics elaborately dealt with in many ancient works on Tantra. The first four Pāṭalas, contained in this part, deal with temple architecture and the religious ritual of their consecration.

Such highly technical treatises are generally unintelligible without the help of any lucid commentary. Luckily we have got two valuable commentaries, one by the author's son Śaṅkara and the other by his anonymous disciple. Unfortunately the two commentators, who are expected to have known personally the author's own interpretations, are not unanimous about the text and its interpretation.

The text with the comm. Vimarsini was already published in the present series Nos. 67 and 71. The Comm. Vivaraṇa published critically for the first time, gives better readings and interpretations. Unfortunately it is not complete for the second

The Preface places the author's birth-date in the year 1428 A. D. The English Introduction gives a detailed analysis of the work. The Sanskrit Introduction, in addition, analyses its relation to the *Silparatna* and gives a comparative study of the two commentaries. The five appendices give an alphabetical index of the verses of the text, an index of quotations in the commentaries, variant readings of the *Vivarāṇa*, an alphabetical index of the Mantras cited in the text and comm. and variant readings in the text.

The Tantras open vast opportunities for Sanskrit scholars interested in Indian art and architecture. We hope that some scholar will undertake their thorough study for the purpose.

The authorities of Travancore University deserve warmest congratulations for the publication of such rare manuscripts in their Library. We eagerly await the publication of the second part. This edition is heartily recommended to all serious students of Indian Religions and Architecture.

R. N. Gaidhani

संदेशरासक by कवि अब्दुलरहमान—Ed. by श्रीजिनविजयमुनि and श्रीहरि-
बल्लभ भायणी, M.A. ; Published by भारतीय विद्याभवन, Bombay 7.
(Introduction pp. 106 and Text and शब्दकोष pp. 123)
Price. Rs. 7-8-0

संदेशरासक is a very important Prakrit work of Abdul Rahaman who appropriates the honour of being the first Muslim poet to assimilate Hindu culture. It was composed in the latter half of the 12th century or in the first half of the 13th century of the Vikrama era as shown by श्रीजिनविजयजी मुनि. A detailed analysis of all the aspects of the grammar of the संदेशरासक is given by Prof. Bhayani.

रासक is a type of poetic composition. The element of शृङ्गार is prominent. It uses various metres like अडिलाs, दोहाs, रड्ढाs, गाहाs, कुमिलाs, पद्मडियाs, and some fifteen other metres. The main body of संदेशरासक is built up with 2f-moraic रासक metre.

The subject-matter of *संदेशरासक* is distributed in three प्रक्रमs. Each प्रक्रम indicates a turn in the development of the theme. The first प्रक्रम is introductory. The second प्रक्रम covers the theme proper. The last प्रक्रम describes the six seasons from the viewpoint of a *विरहिणी*.

The text is critically edited with the help of three manuscripts secured from the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, the Jñānabhaṇḍār of Āchārya Shri Jinaharisāgarji at Lohāvāt in Marwar and the last from a Bhandar at Patan.

A *विरहिणी* from *विजयनगर* (*विक्रमपुर* in *Jesulmere State*) is suffering long separation. She sends a message to her husband who has gone to *खंभाट* (*Cambay*) to earn riches. He does not leave *Cambay* for years because he has not fulfilled his ambition. The message-carrier too is going on his way to *Cambay* with a written message to some similar enterpriser from *Multan* who has gone to *Cambay*.

The whole work consists of 223 stanzas. In the introductory part the poet Abdul Rahaman pays homage to the great poet-scholars of yore who wrote good poetry in Sanskrit and Prakrit languages. He asks his readers how they would appreciate his inferior-verse. But, he says, there is no harm.

अहवा ण इत्थ दोसो जइ उइयं ससहरेण णिसिसमए ।
 ता किं ण हु जोइज्जइ भुअणे रयणीसु जोइक्खं ॥ ८ ॥
 जइ परहुएहिं रडियं सरसं सुमणोहरं च तरुसिहरे ।
 ता किं भुवणारूढा मा काया करकरायंतु ॥ ९ ॥
 जइ अत्थि णई गंगा तियलोए णिच्चपयडियपहावा ।
 वच्चइ सायरसमुहा ता सेससरी म वच्चंतु ॥ १३ ॥

"Though the moon, shines at night, are the lamps not lit in the houses on that account? Because the cuckoos sing on the tree-top with charm and appeal, should the crows on the house-roofs give up their cawings?If the Ganges making her stately appearance in the three worlds proceeds towards the sea, would that be any reason why other rivers also should not do the same?" (Prof. Bhayani).

After asking such a long series of questions the poet emphatically says that whatever one's poetic powers may be, one must declare them unabashed. (cf. जा जस्स कव्वसत्ती सा तेण अलज्जिरेअ

भणियन्वा). In the end of the first प्रक्रम he requests his readers to listen to this charmer of the love-minded (कामियमणहरु), to this veritable cupid for the separated (विरहणिमइरद्ध), to this revivifier of love's sentiment (रसियह रससंजीवयरो). It is uttered so affectionately, it is full of love's aroma, it is a stream of nectar (अइणेहिय भासित, रइमइवासित, सबणसकुलियह, अमियसरो).

The second प्रक्रम begins with the description of the sad lot of the विरहिणी. Her fair body was darkened by the fire of separation.

तहासि ~~अं~~ अं सु उद्धसित अंगु विलुलिय अलय
हुय उब्बिबिरवयेण खलियविवरीय गय ।
कुंकुम कणय सारिच्छ कंति कसिणावरिय
हुइय मुंथ तुय विरहि णिसायर णिसियरिय ॥

"Faded is my lustre, sunken my body; the locks dangle about in disarray: pallor has pervaded the face; the gait has become languid, ungainly; and a dinginess has enveloped my loveliness. Thus, O demon, I have been turned into a demoness owing to your separation". (Prof. Bhayani).

मुन्नारह जिम मह हियउ पिय उक्किख करेइ ।
विरहहुयासि देहवि कणि आसाजालि सिंचेइ ॥

"My heart like a goldsmith longs for the dear one. It burns my body in the fire of separation and then sprinkles it with the water of hope".

The description of the seasons in the last प्रक्रम is appealing.

In the summer the sandal paste is besmeared on her bosom for coolness; but the paste heats her breasts! The lotus-petals are spread on her bed for comfort; but they double her agony. The moon does not give her pleasure. The necklace throws salt as it were in the wounds made by Cupid's shafts.

The rainy season is unbearable on account of the fresh clouds, the rain-bow and इन्द्रगोपस.

The autumn too is not less fierce. The lake-water is adorned with lotuses. Rivers are full of ripples. Lakes regain their beauty. But the विरहिणी cannot bear the sight of these things. At the arrival of the swans she feels herself unable to carry on existence !

The winter (हेमन्त) has its charms. अगुरु is burnt for fumigation. Saffron is applied to the body. Close embrace is now enjoyable. But the विरहिणी is waiting through a long sleepless night. Bereft of her lover's touch, her limbs have withered owing to the wintry frost.

In the cool season (शिशिर), the trees stand without leaves, flowers and fruits. The hurricanes blow fiercely in the sky. Love sports are confined to the interior of the houses. But the heart of the विरहिणी is filled with the load of misery.

In the spring the whole nature is endowed with splendour and glory. The blossoms of the mango trees, the songs of the cuckoos, the merry movements of the flying birds enrich the vernal beauty. People are engaged in mad revelry, but the cupid is sending volleys of arrows at the heart of the विरहिणी !

The detailed summary of all the प्रक्रमs is given by Prof. Bhayani. It is as good as a free rendering of the original.

Abdual Rahaman was a Muslim. He was inspired by the Ancient Hindu Culture. He composed this work in the literary language of the Hindus. If the present Hindus and Muslims sincerely devote themselves to the studies of Hindu literature and Islam literature, the mutual misunderstandings will be at once dispelled. The present barriers coming in the way of Hindu-Muslim unity will be shattered to pieces. Abdual Rahaman has established a noble precedent. It was unfortunately lying in oblivion for years together. But श्रीजिनविजयजीमुनि and Prof. Bhayani have greatly obliged us for having made the संदेशासक accessible to all the scholars.

W. T. Sakurikar

चन्द्रलेखा A सटुक by रुद्रदास, Ed. by Dr. A. N. Upadhye with Sanskrit Chāyā, a Critical Introduction, Notes, Appendix, Glossary, etc. Published by भारतीय विद्याभवन, Bombay, 1945. Price Rs. 6/-

चन्द्रलेखा by रुद्रदास is a drama in प्राकृत. It is technically called a सटुक, a variety of नाटक based on नृत्य. It is a four-act play written in प्राकृत. It has no विश्वकर्मा and प्रवेशक. अंकs (Acts) are called जवनिकाs.

(cf. “सट्टकं प्राकृताशेषपाठ्यं स्यादप्रवेशकम् । न च विष्कभंकोऽत्र प्रचुरश्वाद्भुतो रसः ॥ अङ्का जवनिकाख्याः स्युः स्यादन्यत्ताटिकासमम् । यथा कर्पूरमंजरी ।” साहित्यदर्पण of विश्वनाथ).

The best सट्टक known at present to us is the कर्पूरमंजरी of राजशेखर edited by S. Konow and C. Lanman. In editing चन्द्रलेखा, the learned Dr. Upadhye has given us another specimen of सट्टक. The introduction contains a detailed analytical summary of the story of the play along with the information about the language, the metres and the author रुद्रदास. The particular part of the introduction dealing with the प्राकृत Drama will be very useful to those working in this field. He has correctly ascertained the position of सट्टक in the evolution of Drama. He has been able to list half a dozen सट्टकः : (1) कर्पूरमंजरी of राजशेखर ; (2) रंभामंजरी of नयचंद ; (3) विलासवती of मार्कण्डेय ; (4) शृंगारमंजरी of विश्वेश्वर ; (5) आनंद-सुंदरी of वनश्याम and (6) चंद्रलेखा of रुद्रदास. The important details about all of them have been given for a comparative study of the सट्टक.

The text has been edited with Sanskrit छाया and श्लोकसूची. In the Appendix, the editor has traced the relevant extracts on सट्टक from the different books on rhetorics.

चन्द्रलेखा is a love-story of मानवेद and चन्द्रलेखा. चन्द्रवर्मन् was the King of the Angas. His wife was the मातृष्वसा (aunt) of the Queen of मानवेद. चन्द्रवर्मन् had a daughter चन्द्रलेखा by name. It was prophesied that she would make her husband a universal monarch. A jewel चिन्तामणि was presented to मानवेद by the King सिंधुनाथ. It had a miraculous power to fulfil any desire. It was presided over by चिन्तामणिदेवता. विदूषक the friend of मानवेद requested the चिन्तामणिदेवता to bring before them the most beautiful girl on earth. At once चन्द्रलेखा was brought before the King. Both of them at once fell in love with each other. None in the palace of मानवेद knew चन्द्रलेखा's identity. The Queen at first treated her with respect. But when she came to know of the love-affairs of मानवेद and चन्द्रलेखा, she kept the poor चन्द्रलेखा under strict guard. The parents and relatives of चन्द्रलेखा could not trace her whereabouts. चन्द्रकेतु her brother came to the court of मानवेद. The Queen felt sorry to hear the sad news of the sudden disappearance of चन्द्रलेखा. Everybody thought that the girl

might have been kidnapped by somebody. चन्द्रकेतु disclosed that चन्द्रलेखा was to be offered to मानवेद and that she was to be a wife of a चक्रवर्तिन्. मानवेद then prayed to चिन्तामणिदेवता who at once produced चन्द्रलेखा before them. The Queen gave her consent to the marriage of मानवेद and चन्द्रलेखा simply because she believed the efficacy of the prophecy. Immediately after the marriage the King मानवेद became a चक्रवर्तिन्.

The चिन्तामणि plays a very important part in this play. It has introduced in the play an अद्भुत रस the presence of which is an essential feature of a सट्टक. In the absence of this चिन्तामणि the two meetings, the first and the last, of the lovers would have become impossibilities. The चिन्तामणि is as important here as the अंगुलीयक is in the अभिज्ञानशाकुंतल of कालिदास. The नायक is प्रख्यात and धीरलालित. The नायिका too is सुग्धा and अतिमनोहरा. The Queen is गम्भीरा and मानिनी. It is quite natural that she keeps चन्द्रलेखा under strict guard. We do not blame her for her jealousy. No woman will bear herself superseded by a co-wife. On the other hand we appreciate her nobility of mind when she gives her willing consent to the marriage of मानवेद and चन्द्रलेखा simply because she believes that the marriage would make her husband a चक्रवर्तिन्. This is a self-sacrificing spirit of a noble Aryan lady who even at her cost takes delight in her husband's welfare!

In editing this sweet सट्टक Dr. Upadhye has done a valuable service in the field of Prakrit literature. The publication of this book will decidedly bring credit both to the learned Editor and to the Publishers.

W. T. Sakurikar

रिष्टसमुच्चय of दुर्गदेवाचार्य—Critically edited with exhaustive Introduction, English Translation, Sanskrit Chāyā, Notes, Appendix, Indices Etc. by Dr. A. S. Gopani, Published by भारतीय विद्याभवन, Bombay, 1945. Price Rs. 7-8-0

दुर्गदेव's रिष्टसमुच्चय is a small work containing 361 stanzas in Jain शौरसेनी. It contains a brief but perfect exposition of the presages of death (रिष्ट). It is a collection of omens and portents.

दुर्गदेव was a दिगम्बर Jain and he composed the work in the year 1089 of the Vikrama Samvat. He has broadly divided the रिष्टs into three main groups, पिण्डस्थ, पदस्थ and रूपस्थ. The author's power of epitomising is remarkable. He has collected all possible details concerning this theme and ably presented them in such a short compass. He had inherited a certain tradition which is unfortunately lost to us.

The subject is very interesting. रिष्ट is a presage of oncoming death based on various signs seen in our body, or on events in natural phenomena, or on dreams, or on artificial devices. We would like to quote from दुर्गदेव some examples of रिष्टs:

पिण्डस्थ रिष्टs:—

- (a) बद्धं लोजणजुअलं विवण्णतणू वि कटुसमसरिसा ।
पस्सिज्जइ भालयलं सत्त दिणाइं जो दियइ ॥ २० ॥

“If the pair of his eyes is stationary, if his lustreless body becomes woodlike and if the forehead sweats, he lives but for seven days”.

- (b) कटु तित्तं च कसायं अंबं महुरं तहेव लवणं च ।
भुंजंतो न हु जाणइ तीस दिणाइं च तस्साऊ ॥ २४ ॥

“He lives for thirty days when he does not know, while eating, whether it tastes pungent, bitter, astringent, sour, sweet or saltish”.

पदस्थ रिष्टs:—

- (c) एको वि जए चंदो बहुविहरूवोहि जो नियच्छेइ ।
छिदोह तस्स आऊ इगवरिसं होइ निम्भंतं ॥

“There is one moon in the universe. If one sees it in various forms as well as full of holes, his life will, indeed, be for one year”.

- (d) पभणेइ निसा दिअहं दिअहं रयणी हु जो पयंपेइ
तस्स लहु होइ मरणं किं बहुणा इय वियप्पेहिं ॥

“His death is imminent if he calls (ravingly) day a night and night a day. Where is the scope for much doubt here?”

रूपस्थ रिष्टs:—

- (e) जइ आउरो ण पिच्छइ गियछाया तत्थ संठिओ णूणं
ता जीवइ दह दियहे इय भणियं सयलदरिसीहिं ॥ 75

“It is pronounced by the omniscient seers that if a sick man who is standing there does not see his own shadow, he lives, verily for ten days”.

स्वप्न रिष्टः—

रुहिर-वस-पूअ-तय-चय तिह्रेहि य पूरियाइ गत्ताए ।

जो हु णिवुड्डइ सुमिणे मासिकं जीवए सो दु ॥ 129

He lives indeed, for a month, if in the dream he falls in a pit filled with blood, fat, pus, skin, ghee or oil.

Other रिष्टः--

सासमिवा करटासो सारम वय हंस^{“हं”} तहि य कारंडो ।

सडली सुय चम्मयडा वग्गुर पारेवया सियाला य ॥ 173

कालयडा दहिवण्णो वासगया दिनि जीवियं तस्स ।

दक्खिणगया ससद्दा मच्चुं रोइस्स दंसंति ॥ 174

“The sight of a black jackal, a crow, a horse, a crane, a heron, a swan, a duck, a kite, a parrot, a crowd of bats, a flying fox, a covey of pigeons, a skulk of jackals, a white-water-snake on the left prolongs sick man's life. If they are on the right and making a noise, they always indicate his death”.

Dr. Gopani has elucidated the subject in the Introduction and also in the Notes. He has traced the origin of the रिष्ट and shown how in all times and climes human intellect has made strenuous efforts to interpret natural phenomena in terms of good or bad for the humanity. He has compared रिष्टसमुच्चय with other works in this field.

The text is critically edited with full English translation and explanatory notes. The whole book displays Dr. Gopani's deep study and perfect grasp of the subject.

The book is expected to be highly appreciated.

W. T. Sakurikar

ŚATAKATRAYAM of Bhartṛhari with *Vivṛti* of Rāmarsi.

Edited by Prof. D. D. Kosambi and Pandit K. V. Krishnamoorthy Sharma. Published in the Ānandāśram Sanskrit Series, No. 127. Royal 8vo pp. 2, 140, 7. Poona, 1945. Price Re. 1-8-0

The name of Bhartṛhari as the reputed author of the *Nīti-*, the *Śṛṅgāra-*, and the *Vairāgya-* śatakas or three hundred epigrammatic stanzas of moral, erotic and ascetic import, is quite well known to all who have even a superficial knowledge of Sanskrit. And though several editions of the three *Śatakas* have appeared in India and Europe and many translations in Indian and European languages have existed, no scholar had taken up the preparation of a critical edition of the text after a searching study of the various recensions and numerous commentaries.

It is a matter of great pleasure, therefore, to note that an eminent researcher like Professor D. D. Kosambi has undertaken an exhaustive study of the *Śatakatraya* popularly ascribed to Bhartṛhari. Prof. Kosambi is already renowned as a mathematician and is engaged in carrying on mathematical research in the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research at Bombay. But he has occupied even his leisure with the pursuit of serious subjects like Numismatics, and Sanskrit language and literature.

The book under review is the first fruit of his scholarly labours of the three *Śatakas* of Bhartṛhari. Here the version of the *Śatakas* as known to a commentator named Rāmarsi (not later than the 16th century A. D.) is edited with his gloss, called the *Vivṛti* for the first time. Of this commentary two Manuscripts only are extant. But this edition is based on a single Ms. at the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute, as the other one at the British Museum was not easily accessible to the editor. He has also utilized for this edition another Ms. of the text only at the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute, as it preserved the same textual sequence as followed by Rāmarsi. The Introduction gives a brief account of the two Mss. with their orthographical peculiarities, and the Index of stanzas also names the metre of every stanza.

The commentary of Rāmarsi is extremely lucid and gives the dissolution of almost every compound, and as such it will prove highly useful to Sanskrit students in the High Schools, enriching their vocabulary and easily initiating them in the beauties of these elevating Sanskrit epigrams.

Prof. Kosambi's edition of the Southern archetype of the *Śatakatrāya* is very recently published as No. 9 of the Bhāratīya Vidyā Series, Bombay, and a Critical edition of the same from all available sources is soon to appear in the same series. In all this, Prof. Kosambi has received valuable assistance from Pandit K. V. Krishnamoorthy of the Mahābhārata Department of the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute. Prof. Kosambi deserves to be very warmly congratulated for bringing to bear his critical acumen on the *Śatakas* of Bhartr̥hari. Now that he has entered the field of Sanskrit research let us hope he will give us many more such critical editions and studies of other texts and problems in Sanskrit.

N. A. Gore

GĪRVĀṆA-KEKĀVALIḤ—By D. T. Sakurikar, M.A., LL.B.

Published by the author. Royal 8vo pp. 18, Bhor, 1946,
Price As. 12.

Moropant (1729-1794 A. D.) the author of the original poem in Marathi, is an erudite Marathi poet well known for his scholarship, great command over vocabulary and mastery in rendering Sanskrit epics into Marathi in a variety of ways. His *Kekāvali* is a short poem lyrical in tone, in 121 stanzas in *prthvī* metre, and is a fervent appeal to God for His Grace. On account of the great learning displayed in numerous mythological allusions, sweet diction and the deep sincerity of the poet's devotion, the poem enraptures the heart of its readers. The high poetical excellences of this beautiful song of praise and prayer alone would have secured an abiding place for the poet in the galaxy of Marathi poets. The poem being full of Sanskrit words lends itself readily to rendering into Sanskrit, and the late Mr. M. P. Oak, the gifted translator into Sanskrit, began to render it into Sanskrit. But it is not known whether he ever completed it ; at any rate his translation is not available in print. Hence the charms of this poem were hitherto denied to those who could not understand Marathi.

Therefore Mr. Sakurikar deserves ample thanks for translating this lovely little poem into elegant Sanskrit, thereby enabling the large circle of non-Marathi readers to appreciate its manifold poetical beauties. He has attempted the difficult task of a verse for verse translation in the same metre and we congratulate him for successfully accomplishing it.

N. A. Gore

B. C. LAW VOLUME PART I. Edited by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar and others. Published by the Indian Research Institute, Calcutta, 1945. Pp. Royal 8vo. xviii, 705. Price Rs. 30/-

B. C. LAW VOLUME PART II. Edited by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar and others. Published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona 1946. Pp. Royal 8vo. vii, 474 and 45 plates. Price Rs. 20/-

A very pleasing convention has come to be established in recent years of honouring a great scholar who devotes his lifetime to Indological studies, by his contemporaries. They get together and present him a volume or volumes of their original and learned contributions as a tribute of respect and as a token of their esteem of his high scholarship. In the past, commemoration volumes or festschrifts were no doubt offered to eminent Indologists in the east and the west. Latterly, however, their number is rapidly increasing. But this is all to the good of the progress of Indic studies as it provides opportunities to scholars of getting the results of their research published and constitutes a worthy gift to the recipient who would certainly value the recognition and appreciation of his work by his peers, more than any other worldly gains.

Dr. B. C. Law to whom these volumes are dedicated is not only one of the outstanding Indologists of our times, but he is also a favoured child of the goddess Lakṣmī. While more than three dozen learned books and yet larger number of scholarly papers testify to his great scholarship in a number of fields of Indology ranging from Buddhism to Ancient Indian tribes, many institutions doing humanitarian or literary work have enjoyed his princely munificence which runs into some lacs of rupees. His friends in the three continents of Asia, America and Europe, therefore, considered it a pleasure and a privilege to offer these two sumptuous volumes of studies in Indology to him, on the completion of his 55th year.

The volumes are indeed remarkable for the truly wide sweep of the subjects dealt with and the standing of the contributors. Here we see the Secretary of State for India as well as a Buddhist

monk paying their tribute of respect to Dr. Law and scholars from all parts of India, and Ceylon, England and America have sent 119 learned papers for these volumes, making them almost encyclopaedic in character. It is well nigh impossible for a reviewer to give an adequate idea of the contents of these papers which deal with Buddhism, Vedic and classical Sanskrit literatures, Indian History, Sculpture, Iconography and Archaeology, Vedānta and Jainism, Pre-Pāṇinian and Malayalam grammar, Linguistics, Art and Painting, Purāṇas and study of Mss. What is more interesting is the fact that these volumes contain scholarly papers on such subjects of wider interests as the Calendar through ages and its reform, the disease Kala-Azar and its conquest, Land utilization in a district of Bengal, Sufism and music, the father of Persian poetry, a part of the autobiography of Guru Govinda Singh, Orian and Hindi Literatures and an English poet of the Victorian period, Indian plant *Jondhatā*, Economic planning for India and the world, and Hydro-Electric development in South India.

We heartily congratulate the Board of Editors for this excellent collection of learned papers brought together in these volumes and strongly commend them to all scholars and Institutions doing Indological research. We would like to close by quoting the lines of Bhikṣu Buddhadatta for they find an echo in our heart also :—

विमलाचरणयुक्तो लाहानामो सुधीसो
विदितसुगतधम्मो वङ्गदेशे वसन्तो ।
सुविदितजिनधम्मायत्तगन्थान कत्ता
जयतु सुचिरकालं सब्बआतङ्कमुत्तो ॥

N. A. Gore

PERSIAN CATALOGUE, pub. the Baroda Records Deptt.,
Baroda, pp. 139, size 12 × 16 c.m., ed. 1945, Price Re. 0-15-0

This is a list of the Persian documents which are preserved in the Archives of the Baroda Govt. The period covered is from 1607 to 1903 A. D. and 417 documents have been noticed, out of which 21 have no date on them. There are 7 columns, giving the serial No., date, from, to, subject, disposal No., and remarks. Some of them are important as they bear good seals on them, giving a clue to the Muhammadan officers in the Sūba of Gujarāt. Many of them are letters of a formal nature, congratulations, farewells, greetings, etc. This list will give an idea of the material in the Baroda Archives to those research scholars who are interested in old Persian documents.

There are some mistakes, perhaps of proof correction, e. g., 'Zubus' is written for 'Julūs' (41), Hizri for Hijri (41), Gulām for Ghulām (30), Razak for Razzāq (13), Gāzi for Ghāzi (5), Hussein for Husain (67) etc.

B. D. Verma

RĀJASTHĀNĪ VĪRA-GĪTA, part I, pub. Anūpa Sanskrit
Library, Bīkāner, pp. 179, size 13½ × 22 cm., ed. 1945,
price not given.

This book is an Anthology of old Rājasthānī Bardic songs and is edited by a Board, consisting of Dr. Dasharatha Sharma, and Prof. Narottama Dās Swāmī. This is the first book of the "Shri Sadūla Prācya Grantha-mālā". It gives the text of 145 'songs of heroism' in the Rājasthānī (Dingal) language.

This volume will be of great use for the students of philology as the *gītas* (songs) are valuable specimens of the post-Apabhramśa period. They have their literary value too, as many of them possess good similes and flights of imagination, and because the songs were meant to please the learned patrons.

In the history of the development of Hindi litt., the Dingal litt., occupies an important place, and so the able editors deserve our sincere thanks for their labours. The songs are the encomiums of the Rājas of Mewār, Bīkāner, Mārwar, Amber, Jesalmer, Būndī etc. There is one song by Dharma Wardhana, a Jaini bard, in praise of Shīvājī. There are some references to the historical events also in some songs. The patrons have been praised mostly for their bravery and generosity. 'This subject matter has been dealt with in the various strata of Sanskrit litt., from its earliest times'. Maharānā Pratāp, Pritivi Rāj Rathod, Īsardās and many others deserved very well all the eulogy which has been heaped on them in these songs.

Dr. C. Kunhan Raja has written a useful foreword in English. The editors will give the Introduction and translation in part second of the series.

B. D. Verma

TA'RIKH NĀME-I-HARĀT, by Sayf ibn Muḥammad ibn Ya'qūb al Harawī, edited by Prof. Md. Zubayr-aṣ-Ṣiddīqī of the Calcutta University, published by Khān Bahādur K. M. Asadullāh, Librarian of the Imperial Library, Calcutta, pp. 822 + xxvi : 6" × 9¾", price not given, ed. 1944.

This is a History of Harāt, which was written by Sayf at the end of the thirteenth century. He was one of the great scholars of his age, and was proficient in Arabic and Persian literatures. This is why his book is a mine of useful historical material and fine literary pieces. He, himself a poet of no mean order, seems to possess a great liking for the Persian and Arabic poetry, as he gives numerous appropriate couplets from many poets and takes great care in giving the names of the poets who composed those couplets. He gives the Persian meaning of every Arabic couplet, so that the book might be appreciated even by those who do not know Arabic well. All this has increased the literary value of the book.

The learned editor has spared no pains in giving us a correct text, but unfortunately there are mistakes of proof-correction and he has made amends for this defect by appending a complete errata. He has written a comprehensive introduction in English giving full details about the author and the unique manuscript etc. A Persian translation of this English introduction is also prefixed. The lovers of Persian history and literature should be grateful to the learned editor and to Khan Bahādur K. M. Asadullāh, who got the book edited and printed after a constant attention of the past twelve years, and to the Council of the Library and its President, Mr. John Sargent, M.A., C.I.E., Educational Adviser to the Govt. of India who found out the necessary funds for the printing of this voluminous work and without whose help all the labour of love would have been still lying in the limbo of oblivion.

B. D. Verma

श्रीमद्भगवद्गीताविशेषतः शब्दकोशः (Critical Word-Index to the Bhagavadgītā) by Rao Bahadur P. C. Divanji, M.A., LL.M., pp. xix + 366, Price Rs. 12

This work was apparently completed in June 1943, as the foreword to it by Dr. Katre is dated 4th June 1943, and opinions by Professors Kane (he was not Mahāmahopādhyāya then) and Velankar are dated 18-6-43 and 14-6-43 respectively. The preface to the work by the author Rao Bahadur Divanji is dated 15th October 1945 and the opinion by Sir. S. Radhakrishnan is dated 28-11-45 and the work seems to have been actually published in June 1946. In the preface the author refers to the late Dr. Sukthankar's practical advice to him as to how to proceed with his work. The work thus comes before the world of scholars with very flattering recommendations of well-known scholars.

The work contains an English Introduction (i-xviii) and is divided into three parts. Part I contains what the author calls primary word-units (Section A-Vulgate with variants, numbering 3865 ; Section B-Kāśmīra Recension, numbering 426, Section C-List of new words in Section B) and Critical Apparatus of Section A, Critical Apparatus of Section B, and Addenda to Section B, as three Appendices. Part II contains Secondary Word-Units (Section A-Sub-section (a) Vulgate with variants, numbering 1102, Sub-section (b) Kāśmīra Recension, numbering 2037 ; Section B contains Tertiary word-units (Sub-section A-Vulgate with variants, numbering 296, sub-section (b) Kāśmīra Recension numbering 62, Section C contains Quarternary word-units (sub-section (a) Vulgate with variants, numbering 196, sub-section (b) Kāśmīra Recension, numbering 24). Part III contains a consolidated Index of the Primary and subsidiary word-units or common Basic Forms with the usual Section A and B with their sub-sections, numbering 1443 and 238 respectively (why the author uniformly writes Kāśmīr in place of Kāśmīra is not clear). The whole work consists of about 400 pages, large size, well-got up and nicely printed on the best available non-white paper in these days. The author obviously has spent an amount of labour on this work.

The author apparently has divided his work into various parts, with sections and sub-sections with a view to facilitate

the work of scholars who want to use it. It appears to us that this purpose is not likely to be properly fulfilled. It would undoubtedly have been simpler if the author had made the index in the ordinary way for all the words (the Kāśmīra recension words could have been shown by an asterix), and explained their formation with their meanings. As it is, the whole scheme has become a bit confusing and is more likely to bewilder a student than to help him. Again, we fail to see the propriety of giving separate entries for the different case-forms of the same word and repeating some portion of the explanation against each form. Thus entries Nos. 2948-3055, give the words लोकस्य, लोकम्, लोकः, लोकात्, लोकान्, लोकाः, लोके and लोकेषु. Could not all these entries have been given under one heading, लोकस्य, the other forms being merely shown as different case-forms of the word लोक? The repetition every time of the expression 'of the mas. noun Loka (see No. 2948)' could have been easily avoided without any loss to anybody. We personally do not like such simple words being treated in such a solemn manner. Are we to understand that a scholar is so ignorant of Sanskrit grammar as to require all this information? If the work is intended for the benefit of an ignoramus in Sanskrit, we have nothing to say. The author, again, does not give the different meanings assigned to the different words by different commentators, a fact which is referred to by Prof. Velankar in his 'Opinion'. Prof. Velankar, however, says that this does not fall within the purview of the word-index. We do not see why this should be so. If the author is within his rights to assign any meaning he likes to different words, the reader is equally within his rights to expect that a complete picture about the word should be shown to him. Take the case of the word गुडाकश which is explained as 'The lord of sleep'. It is open to question whether गुडाकश could be explained as sleep, but what about the other meaning 'one who has hair of a particular type' or 'The Chief of गुडाक' which are equally important in the eyes of the reader? As matters stand, the value of the word-index has been lessened very much owing to this lacuna. According to Prof. Velankar, if this lacuna were filled in, the work would be a scholar's paradise. As it is, one is not quite sure whether one is

not landing in a fool's paradise, if one confines oneself only to this work. We were simply astonished to find मय्यर्पितमनोबुद्धिः, मय्यावेशितचेतसां, and मय्यासक्तमनाः (Nos. 2561, 2562, and 2563) as *primary* word-units!! अगतासून् (No. 30, 'one whose vital breath has left one's body') and गतासून् (No. 1139, 'one whose vital breath has passed away') have both been explained as meaning the same thing! महेश्वासाः (No. 2602) is wrongly explained as 'one who is big amongst those who throw arrows'. स्वाध्यायः (No. 3805) and स्वाध्यायाभ्यसनम् (No. 3806) both are explained as 'A study of the Vedas'. पर्याप्त (No. 1957) is explained as 'sufficient', the second meaning 'limited' not being given. दक्षिणायनम् (No. 1525) and उत्तरायणम् (No. 741) are explained as 'The southern path' and 'The northern path' respectively—which hardly helps the reader in understanding these terms. Similarly in Part II, the author has tried to be original in the matter of the dissolution of compounds. Instead of helping the reader, in any way, his method causes annoyance to the reader. In short, we very much doubt how far real benefit could be derived from this work by a scholar.

The work is respectfully dedicated to 'The Great Master of Yogas, Śrī Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva' whose words of wisdom were, according to the author, immortalised by Kṛṣṇa-Dvaipāyana, more than two thousand five hundred years ago. So according to Mr. Divanji, the date of the Gītā or Kṛṣṇa-Dvaipāyana could not be later than 600 B. C. Now, what is the author's exact position about this question? If he believes Kṛṣṇa-Dvaipāyana to be the Editor of the Gītā, then he could have been more definite about his date, as no one holds that the Mahābhārata War, was fought later than 1100 B. C. (The traditional date is 3100 B. C.). If however, he is prepared to admit that the Gītā in its present form was evolved out of the original Gītā in the Bhārata, he could not rightly regard Kṛṣṇa-Dvaipāyana as its sole Editor. The author on p. x and xi of the introduction has something to say about the Kāśmīra recension of the Gītā published by Dr. Schrader, wherein he naively tries to explore the meanings of the terms 'recension' and 'version' by solemnly tracing them to their roots! Surely it is too late in the day for an Indian to fix the meanings of current English words by tracing them to their roots!

Sir S. Radhakrishnan's three-line opinion about the present work is as follows:— 'I read through the pages of your *Critical Word-Index to the Bhagavadgītā*. It is a work which will be of considerable value to all students of our sacred scriptures!' This is indeed a tall order. By scriptures we understand the Vedas and Vedic Literature primarily. How this word-index is going to be of considerable value to the students of Vedic literature is beyond the ken of a lay-man.

We have thought it desirable to review this work rather critically and at length in order to point out that the increasing craze for word-index literature is likely to stimulate production of works of doubtful utility involving an amount of unnecessary labour, in the absence of a properly thought out plan for each individual work separately. In the case of a work like the *Bhagavadgītā*, the problem is not about the grasping of the meaning of individual words or ślokas. There are hardly thirty or forty verses (out of a total of 700 verses) in the *Gītā* round which controversy has been raging for at least a thousand years. The difficulty lies not so much in understanding the individual verses in question, as in coordinating them in a logically evolved philosophical system in the *Gītā*. The present word-index of the *Gītā* is hardly calculated to bring a student of the *Gītā* nearer to the above cherished ideal, as it gives information which is unnecessary or superfluous and is not helpful as it should have been, where help is required. Bearing in mind the points discussed above, we are constrained to remark that the present work would be of strictly limited scope and value for the reader and it can be expected to serve its purpose to that extent.

R. D. Karmarkar

BOOKS RECEIVED

- Adm. Report of the Arch. Deptt.
Trivandrum, 1946.
- Annual Reports of the American
Hist. Association, Parts I, II,
III, Washington, 1945.
- Annual Report of the Librarian
of Congress (1945). Author,
Evans Luther Harris. United
States Printing Office,
Washington, 1946.
- Annual Report of the Mysore
Archaeological Department,
Government of Mysore,
Mysore, 1945.
- Antiquities of Buddha,
M. Ramrao, Guntur, 1946.
- अन्वोक्यष्टकसंग्रह (पाठभेद-परिशिष्टादि
समन्वित) (संस्कृत) editor, श्रीमती
कु. प्रतिभा त्रिवेदी, एम्. ए., प्रकाशक,
भारतीय विद्या भवन, मुंबई, १९४६.
- Anwarnama, Abjedi, Madras,
1944.
- Āśvaghōṣa, B. C. Law, Royal
Asiatic Society of Bengal,
Calcutta, 1946.
- Ātmacharitra, Parts I and II,
Shrimant Balasaheb Pant-
Pratinidhi, Aundh, 1946.
- Baha-U-llah and the New Era,
(Urdu).
- बौद्ध-दर्शन, Baladeo Upadhyaya,
Benares, 1946.
- A Layman's Bhagavad Gītā,
Part I, by A. S. P. Ayyar. The
Alliance Company, Mylapore,
Madras, 1946.
- Bhagavadgītā Samanvaya,
S. D. Satavalekar, Aundh,
1939.
- Bhagavadgītā Word-Index,
P.C. Divanji, Bombay, 1946.
- Buddhaghosa, by B. C. Law,
Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic
Society, Bombay, 1946.
- Early History of Buddhism in
Ceylon, E. D. Adikram
Publishers, Puswellia, Migoda,
Ceylon. 1946.
- Buddhist Antiquities from
Aduru, M. Ramrao, Guntur,
1946.
- Calendar for 1945-46, University
of Travancore, Trivandrum.
- Catalogue of Anup. Skr. Library
C. K. Raja, Bikaner, 1946,
- Descriptive Catalogue of Skr.
Mss. in Govt. Ori. Lib. Vol. II,
Iyengar, Mysore.
- Triennial Catalogue of Mss.
1934-35 to 1937, P. P. S.
Sastri, Madras, 1943.
- The Cultural History of the
Hindus, by Chandra Chakra-
berty, Publishers, Vijaya
Krishna Brothers, Calcutta.
- Elephant in the Tamil Land
E. S. Varadaraj Aiyer,
Annamalai University,
Annamalainagar, 1945.
- Figures of Speech or Figures of
Thought, A.K.Coomaraswamy,
Luzac & Co., London, 1946.

- Gaikwads of Baroda English Documents, Volumes VIII-X
Anandrao Gaikwad, J. H.
Genese, D. B. Taraporewala
Sons & Co., Bombay.
- Gatha Ahunavshati J. S.
Taraporawala, Bombay, 1945.
- Girvāpa Kekāvali,
D. T. Sakurikar, Bhor, 1946.
- Golden Jubilee Souvenir,
Tiruvannamalai, 1946.
- Grammar of Sanskrit Language,
Theodor Benfey, Berlin 1863.
- An Outline Scheme for the Uni-
versity of Gujarat, Publishers
Gujarat-Vishva-Vidyālaya
Mandala, Ahmedabad, 1946.
- The Gujārat Region and the
Parsees, Prof. M. B. Pithawala,
Karachi, 1946.
- Hakikat-i-Alam,
M. B. Chaudhari, Jammu, 1946
- Heritage of Karnatak,
R. S. Mugali, Bangalore, 1946.
- Hinduism Outside India, by
Swami Jagadeeswaranand,
published by Swami Atma-
swaupananda. Ramakrishna
Ashram, Rajkot, Kathiawar.
- Historical Grammar of old
Kannada, G. S. Gai, Deccan
College, Poona, 1946.
- New History of Indian People,
Mujumdar, Lahore, 1946.
- Indian Culture and English
Influence, A. K. Coomara-
swamy, Orientalia, 1946.
- Jaina Granthavali, Jaina
Svetamber Conference,
Bombay.
- जीवन के पथ पर (विश्राम दूसरा),
क. कल्ला कन्हैयालाल शर्मा, संवत् २००१,
C/o Kalla Danlalji, Kalla
Street, Jodhpur.
- Key to Indian Practice. Mulla,
Bombay, 1929.
- The ~~Taga~~ Sagna System of the
Vedanga-Jyotisha, by B. R.
Kulkarni, Rajwade Samsho-
dhan Mandal, Dhulia, 1943.
- Latche Marathi Aitihāsika
Lekha, Part I, Vidyanand
Swami, Santacruz, 1936.
- B. C. Law Commemoration
Volume, Part II, Bhandarkar
O. R. Institute, Poona.
- List of Subjects in Arts and
Sciences in which Research
work is being done, Inter-
University Board of India,
Muzaffarpur, 1946.
- University of Madras, publishers
Calendar for 1945-46, Vol. I,
Part II.
- Maharashtracha Rajakīya
Pranta, S. R. Shende, Bombay,
1946.
- Map of Kathi Possessions in
Kathiawar, 1946.
- Mīmāṃsāprakāśa, R. D. Kinja-
vadekar, Poona, 1936.

- Radha Kumud Mookerjee Endowment Lectures, 1945, on the Hindu Judicial System, delivered by S. Vardachariar. Kt. Judge, Federal Court, published by The Lucknow University, Lucknow, 1946.
- Mudrārāksasanātakakathā of Mahādeva, Dr. V. Raghavan, Sarasvati Mahal Series I, Tanjore, 1946.
- Indian Music-An Introduction By D. P. Mukerji, pub. by P. R. Bhide for Kutub Publishers, Poona, 1945.
- Numismatic Parallels of Kālidāsa C. Sivaramamurti, Shakti Karyalayam. Tinnevely, 1945.
- Panipat 1761, T. S. Shejwalkar, Deccan College, Poona, 1946.
- Paryāyaratnamāla, by Mādhavakara, Dr. Tarapada Chowdhury, Patna, 1946.
- Prabhāsa Śāpa-Vimocanam, (Telugu Poem), Kavi Bhūshana, Cetty Lakshminarasimham.
- प्राकृतप्रकाशः वररुचिविरचितः Ed. by Dr. C. K. Raja, & K. Ramachandra Sarma, The Adyar Library, Madras, 1946.
- Renewal of Civilization, David Hofman, Bahai Publishing Trust, London.
- Rgveda-Samhitā with the commentary of Sāyaṇācārya, Vol. IV, Mandalas IX-X, Vaidika Samsodhana Maṇḍala, Poona, 1946.
- Saṅgamarāja, Volume I, Pāthyaratnakośa, K. M. K. Sarma, Bikaner, 1946.
- Sanskrit University, A Vision and a Mission, An address delivered by Dr. C. K. Raja, Published by K. K. Raja, Adyar Library, Madras, 1946.
- श्रीजगद्गुरु विश्वाराध्याष्टोत्तरशतनाम'र्चन
श्रीजगद्गुरु-वीरभद्र-शिखाचार्य
महास्वामिविरचिता शा. १८६८.
- Śaṭcakraṇirūpanam, Pūrṇānandayati, Calcutta, 1926,
- Slokavārtikāṭikā of Bhaṭṭaputra-Jayamiśra, C. K. Raja, Madras University, Madras, 1946.
- Changing Social Structure, S. F. Desai, Bombay, 1945.
- Srauta-Sūtra of Āpastamba. Narasimhachar, Mysore, 1946.
- Śrīmadbhagavadgītā, K. A. Keluskar, Bombay, 1930.
- Structure Grammaticale des Langues Dravidiennes, by Jules Bloch, Adrien-Maisonnette, 11 Rue St. Sulpice, Paris.
- स्वर्ग, पं. बुद्धदेव विद्यालंकार, लाहोर, १९४६.
- Tarbiyat-i-Alam, M. A. Chaudhuri, Jammu 1946.
- त्रैलोक्य-प्रकाशः श्रीहेमचन्द्रविरचितः (Text with Translation in Hindi), by Rama Sarūp Sarma, Published by Kuśala Astrological Research Institute, Lahore.

- Varuna ki Nauka,
Vedavāchaspati. Sainvat 2003,
Kangar,
वैदिक वीर-गर्जना, Ramanatha Veda-
lankara, Gurukul, Kangri,
Haridwar.
- Vedasthana or The Ancient
Home of the Indo-Aryans,
Dr. T. J. Kedar, Nagpur.
- Vedic Bibliography,
R. N. Dandekar, Karnatak
Printing Press, Bombay, 1946.
- Vibhakti-Sainvāda,
A. Upadhyaya, Ludhiyana,
1941.
- विक्रम स्मृति-ग्रन्थ, २००१, विक्रम द्वि-
सहस्राब्दी समारोह समिति, ग्वालियर.
- Virabhānūdaya Kāvya of
Mādhava, Pt. Anantasāstri
Upādhyāya, Rewa Durbar,
1938.
- Thus Spake Vivekananda, Shri
Ramakrishna Math, Mylapore,
Madras, 1946.
- Yādavābhyudaya Cantos. 13-18,
T. T. S. Gopalachari. Mysore,
1945.
- The Life of Holy Zarathushtra,
F. Rustomjee, Bombay, 1944.
-

Rao Bahadur Kashinath Narayan Dikshit, M. A.



Born 21-10-1889 |

| Died 12-8-46

(Through the courtesy of Kesari Office)

RAO BAHADUR KASHINATH NARAYAN DIKSHIT

BY

S. K. DIKSHIT

When a man like myself, who is so intimately connected with the late Rao Bahadur, has to write about him, he is unfortunately in a position, wherein he knows more, but has to write less, than a person who may not be so connected with him, for the simple reason that what he writes is likely to be taken with a grain of salt. Nevertheless, to one, who would be a little seriously interested, practically every single item that I am here writing about, could be vouchsafed for, with some unimpeachable testimony or other. And if, inspite of my attempt to take a strictly historical attitude, some readers, who did not know much of the late Rao Bahadur during his life time, are likely to think that I am a victim of my own filial sentiments, I am sure that there will be others also, who knew him intimately and would blame me for not having given the due meed of encomium to my late revered father. Without therefore wishing to meet this or that point of view, I propose to write this life-sketch, just to pay off, in part, my own obligations to the deceased, and perhaps for no other purpose than of satisfying my own soul.

The late Rao Bahadur was born at Pandharpur, in the year 1889, of a family which gave some priests to the services of Vithoba, that far-famed divinity of Pandharpur. His father, Narayan Hari Dikshit, was little more than a matriculate; but by honest hard work and ability, he rose from his humble post of a municipal clerk at Pandharpur, to that of the Mamlatdar at Shirhatti. He had hardly occupied this latter post for a year and a half, when he fell a victim to the epidemic of bubonic plague, that ruined thousands of families during the last decade of the 19th century. Narayanrao left behind him his wife and four little children, the eldest of whom, Kashinath, was then only nine years old. But even at that age, he proved a very useful asset to his family, in as much as he showed his extraordinary talents even in his childhood, and won practically all the scholarships and free-ships that came in his way, throughout his school career.

By the standard of living of those days, even these scholarships were a definite material aid, without which it would have been much more difficult in those days for the family to carry on. At that time, the example of his father, Narayanrao, was held out to him by his relatives, who, in spite of the surpassing abilities of the son, scarcely imagined that he would surpass the Mamlatdar in his achievements also. Kashinath, however, never had mere administrative ambitions, and was ever winning bigger prizes and scholarships in his examinations. He crowned these achievements by securing the First Jagannath Shankar Seth Scholarship at the Matriculation Examination, Varajivandas Madhavdas Scholarship at the Intermediate Examination, the Bhau Daji Prize at the B. A. Examination, and finally the Sūjña Gokuldas Jhālā Vedanta Prize, Sir Lawrence Jenkins Scholarship, and the Bhagawandas Purushottam Sanskrit Scholarship at the M. A. Examination. He was barely twenty-two, when he passed his M. A. Examination, but even then he had already served as a lecturer in the capacity of a Dakshina Fellow in the Deccan College, Poona. It was because of all these achievements that he was admitted to a scholarship in the Archaeological Department of the Government of India. And though, for a time, he worked as an Assistant Curator, or a Curator, in certain provincial museums, including the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, the Lucknow Provincial Museum, etc., it only added to his other qualifications. His main work, however, was to be in the Archaeological Department of the Government of India, itself. He worked under Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar at Mirpur Khas and other sites; and at Kumhrahār (Patna), he worked under Dr. Spooner, whom he always remembered and revered with the affection one has for one's favourite *guru*. Dr. Spooner also requited his affection and was largely responsible for Mr. Dikshit getting a good start in the department as a Superintendent in the year 1918. This finally settled his career, and as a Superintendent he worked mainly at Calcutta and at Poona, i. e. in the Eastern and the Western Circles of the Archaeological Department. And as luck would have it, he had to join these two Circles alternately almost every three years. If one were to read the annual reports of these two Circles, especially of the Eastern Circle, written in those days, one would

find a glimpse of the masterly mind that was at work in all the fields of archaeology, especially iconography and architecture. As an explorer's account, the reports of the Eastern Circle are scarcely surpassed by what other writers of such circle-reports have given to the world. It could never have been the policy of the powers-that-be to encourage, in those days, in this dependent colony of India, the ingress, into the Archaeological Department, of many learned and independent-minded Indians. Nevertheless, the Department had on the whole to keep up its prestige by keeping whatever best men it had, such as the late Mr. Rakhal Das Benerji, and the late Mr. K. N. Dikshit, at such strategic posts as the Eastern Circle. These very Indians, who were chiefly responsible for the resuscitation of the immortal glory of our ancestors in the Indus Valley,—one, the original finder, and the other, the chief excavator of the great emporium of Mohenjo Daro,—were, after their needful purpose was well-served, asked to make room for others. That the reporting of such an important discovery as Mohenjo Daro could not be altogether entrusted to Indian hands was not at all surprising. But to have entrusted it almost entirely to foreigners only speaks for the attitude of the Government in the matter. This sort of disgrace was felt by a number of Indians in those days,—amongst them, perhaps, most keenly by Mr. K. N. Dikshit. The years 1923-25 spent at Mohenjo Daro, indeed, proved to be some of the most eventful, but, at the same time, unhappy years in Mr. Dikshit's life. The utter lack of appreciation of his efforts during the excavations at Mohenjo Daro gave him a rude shock, which, not very long after, resulted in the trouble of his life-time—diabetes. He kept this disease in check, by restricting himself to a very rigid diet, and fought it bravely throughout the last twenty-two years, suffering greatly during the fight. He did all this, out of sheer love for work; he never shirked any work, be it exploration, excavation, or any other sedentary type of work. Even during his last serious illness, he was working regularly,—always keeping in mind the Sanskrit adage, which he was very fond of repeating: *ajarāmaravat prājño vidyām—artham ca cintāyet*.—He was doing this until the medical authorities finally prohibited all reading, exactly a

month before his demise. It is, indeed, to be suspected that his great zeal for doing his bit for archaeology, even after his retirement, told adversely on his health, already weakened by the long-standing diabetes.

Besides taking part in the excavations at Mohenjo Doro, Mr. Dikshit also carried out the excavations at Paharpur (Bengal), which is situated some thirty miles north-west of Mahasthan, known, in ancient times, as *Padravardhana* or *Pudanagara*. Here the lofty temple, surrounded by the great *vihāra* (monastic establishment) of Somapura (as Paharpur was formerly known), which flourished especially in the early Pāla period, yielded to the spade of Mr. Dikshit quite rich and varied material, that is so useful for the study of Indian architecture and sculpture.

Besides his monumental work on this subject, viz. "The Excavations at Paharpur, Bengal" (Mem. of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 55), he published a number of inscriptions, pertaining to the Guptas and other dynasties, found here and elsewhere. He read the numbers, given in old inscriptions and coins, with such great facility that scarcely anybody equalled him in that field. It also once happened that the credit for the work, which he did, in numismatics went to somebody else, who then happened to be his superior. Perhaps such is always the lot of the subordinates! At any rate, if Fortune has favoured him in some ways, by granting him ever higher glory almost up to the end of his career, it has also frowned on him on a number of occasions like this and the Mohenjo Doro episode.

After he had been a Superintendent for a number of years, he became, in the year 1930, a Deputy Director General of Archaeology, and after that, for a period, in 1932, the Government Epigraphist. From the latter post he reverted to the post of the Superintendent for Archaeology in the Eastern Circle in 1933. By this time, he had acquired quite an extensive and all-round experience, in practically every field of the departmental activities. This eventually made him an indispensable man at the centre. But he still wished to add to his knowledge by a tour to all the chief centres of archaeological interest in the western world. Hardly could any other person in his position have thought of going, for the sake of study, at his own cost, to so many places, within such a short time as eight months, much less of

studying so intensely scores of monuments, as he did. It was almost with the zeal of a fresh youngster, who wishes to study everything of importance, that he completed his continental tour. And he managed to pick up, during the intervals that he could snatch in this tour, quite a fair knowledge of French and some of German and Italian as well. His powerful memory helped him to retain in his mind much of what he learnt. The notes he has made during this tour, and all the material that he gathered and studied at this time, speak volumes for the sincerity of his purpose. Somehow, he was unable to bequeath it to the world in a finished form. But, many persons, like the writer of this sketch, were undoubtedly aided and guided by the information and advice given by the late Rao Bahadur.

I believe, I am not giving out any official secret when I state that on one occasion when there was a tie, in connection with some higher honour, between the late Rao Bahadur and somebody else, it was this continental tour that was responsible for getting him that honour. A bare list of the names of the places, which he visited during this tour, was then made, and it was found to extend over four typed sheets—a fact that was sufficient to impress his “examiners”. A beautiful summary description of these places, written from a purely archaeological point of view, extended over thirty pages, and, if published, would have always been (and may yet be) helpful for any Indian scholars wishing to go to the West. Of course, there is always a dearth of such scholars in a poor country like India. Soon after his return from the continental tour, he was made *the* Deputy D. G. of Archaeology (1934),—no longer *a* Deputy D. G. of Archaeology, since there had now remained only one of the two posts of that name in the Department. Not long after, he was made a Rao Bahadur by the Government of India (1935). By this time, his services were found altogether indispensable at the centre; and in consideration thereof he was made the head of his department, the Director General of Archaeology.

These and the succeeding years also witnessed the products of his masterly writing in the Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India. Meanwhile, the policy followed in a former regime had almost led to a crisis in the department, which was

accentuated by the murder of one of the most eminent archaeologists, Mr. N. G. Majumdar, at the hands of the fanatic Hurs. At this juncture, the Government suddenly decided to bring in a foreign expert to advise on the reorganisation of the whole department. The Woolley Report came in with all its sting for the head of the department. Though, personally, Rao Bahadur himself did not come in for criticism, it was he who of all people felt about the prestige of his department.¹ He saw himself being

¹ Here it may be pointed out that Sir L. Woolley's Report was critically reviewed in the following words by Prof. Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, the learned orientalist, who had himself worked in the Department of Archaeology and as such who had known its working intimately:— "The recommendations... are based on purely scholarly consideration. There are, however, other aspects which in a country like India cannot be totally disregarded. There is in the first place the national and religious aspect. There exists, no doubt, a vivid archaeological interest among the educated classes of Indian society, but it seems to us that it is largely inspired by motives of religion and nationalism. The ancient monuments which have been brought to light and are kept up at considerable expense are, with only few exceptions, edifices relating to Brahmanism, Buddhism and Islam.....The India of to-day, on the contrary, is united by a thousand ties with the Vedic and Puranic past.....This explains why, whenever an ancient image turns up by accident, such a discovery is hailed with special delight in the Indian newspapers..... But such a disregard of public opinion might well prove fatal to archaeological research in India. Any one familiar with the inner history of the Archaeological Survey knows that this history might aptly be described as a constant struggle for life. The officers of the Department, the Director General in the first place, have to defend their very existence against adverse influences. For not all high officials are inspired by that lofty and enlightened interest in India's historical monuments, which characterized a Viceroy like Lord Curzon. A Member of Council responsible for the Finance is reputed to have declared that archaeological research was a mere luxury and that the public money would be better spent on any other subject than on archaeology. Did it happen in 1910 when Sir John Marshall was spending his well earned furlough in England, that the Government of India even proposed to abolish his post? The position of the Director General of Archaeology might indeed be aptly compared to that of the man in the famous parable who, clasping to the branch of a tree, the roots of which are being gnawed by two mice, is hanging down in a dry well inhabited by a dragon, while above he is threatened by an elephant.....The powers that be may curtail the resources of archaeology and unfortunately in times of financial stridency (almost a

(continued on the next page)

made a scapegoat of a policy in which he had himself no controlling hand. Another 'Mohenjo Daro,' another serious break-down of his health! Every serious student of archaeology knows the advance that had been made in the West in what is called the "methodology of archaeology," during recent years. It was not difficult in the light of that knowledge for Rao Bahadur himself to introduce a number of changes suggested by Sir L. Woolley, long before he had come to India. But in such things, as in every other cultural activity, it is the real backing of the people by the Government that matters most, and it is not possible for a single individual, howsoever eminent, to fight a system. Be that as it may, the Woolley Report was followed by, or rather, cast into the back-ground by, a regular tirade certain interested parties in India itself against the head of the department, who worked heart and soul for the department, and for India's culture and who looked upon the interests of the department as his own.

These years also saw his ever increasing association with a number of cultural and historical societies, which, according to their own testimony, greatly profited by his help and guidance. Occasionally he was rewarded for such services, by the Presidency of this or that session of this or that association. But everywhere,—whether it was in anthropology, or numismatics, or archaeology in general,—one found in his Presidential addresses, etc., such a sound grasp in such a large variety of subjects that, for those, who knew how busy he was with other divers activities, it was, indeed, a matter of wonder how he could manage it,—nay, how he

(continued from the previous page)

chronic disease!) the Archaeological Department is always the first to suffer. This will make it clear that a Director General of Archaeology in India cannot allow himself to be guided by the scholarly interest alone. He must endeavour to justify his own and his Department's existence and this can best be done by brilliant discoveries and by excavations productive of imposing finds like the Aśoka capital of Sārnāth. For only results of this kind will impress the Indian public with the utility of the Department. This state of affairs will, perhaps, account for certain shortcomings in the work of the Department, such as the absence of any systematic plan of campaign, which have been criticized in Sir Leonard's Report. "—Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology (Kern Institute Publication) Vol. XIV. (For the Year 1939), pp. 9-11.

could probe to the depth in almost every sphere that he surveyed. As the Deputy Director General, and the Director General of Archaeology, his main achievement has been guiding the activities of tens of learned societies and scores of individuals in their research work. His memory, which stood him in good stead since his child-hood, was a great asset for anybody working with him, or under his guidance or direction. And although his official routine work mostly kept him away from such specialized fields as the Kharoshthi and Brahmi inscriptions, he could, to the amazement of all, who knew him intimately and saw him working, read them with the fluency and accuracy of a specialist, who is almost solely busy with such work. I distinctly remember a number of occasions, when he was of great help in giving the correct readings of some Kharoshthi and Brahmi inscriptions to such veteran scholars as the late Mr. N. G. Majumdar and others. A number of scholars, who have received his aid or guidance, or have corrected their articles or theses in the light of his information or criticism, have been grateful enough to mention his name; but, of course, in such cases, there is bound to be quite a number of others, who do not feel the necessity of mentioning it at all. I shall now refer to a few facts, which made him almost like a living Index, or like an invaluable reference-book. His great philological acumen, aided by his intimate knowledge of the northern Indian languages, like Bengali, Hindi-Urdu, Marathi, etc., enabled him to give out in private conversations interesting derivations of a number of words, with which we are usually too familiar to examine them closely. Again, there is hardly anybody now, who is so intimately familiar with the antiquities, found in all the important museums throughout India, as he was. His acquaintance with the topographical details of every province was indeed a matter of wonder to all those who knew him, and a matter of help to all those who were in need of such information. His familiarity with the archaeological monuments of all provinces had given a great weight to his opinion in the eyes of every student of historical architecture. All these facts, together with the good-natured, but occasionally misunderstood frankness, his jovial temperament, and

above all his willingness to part with knowledge, made him a lively and learned conversationalist. Besides this frankness, however, there was his high position, which made some of his numerous friends and acquaintances expect in reality much more than could be legitimately met with by anybody in his position. And the present writer is personally very well aware that the late Rao Bahadur had, at the end of his career, the misfortune of getting the blame in such cases for all his trying. The credit of expanding the department, or of employing a vast number of scholars on a very small site, so as to get at greatly accurate results, was not to belong to him, or to any other Indian scholar for the matter of that. But with the financial aid that was forthcoming for the excavations at Ramnagar, and with the skeletal number of scholars that were allowed to work under him at that time, those excavations will ever remain a classical instance of what could be achieved by Indian scholarship in that field. It is a fact of history that the ever-expanding economy of the world enables every succeeding generation to spend more and to restrict oneself to a more specialised field. And though there might be in future no need to go back to the method of excavation that he employed, the "economy" of India of that period,—by which I refer to the whole politico-social set-up in this great sub-continent during the period preceding the great upheavals resulting from the World War II,—would scarcely have allowed obtaining better results with such few means. And one becomes convinced of the inevitability of history, when one remembers that the late Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit was going to apply to be allowed to write the report of the excavations at Ahicchatra (Ramnagar), after he had got the final sanction of his due pension, and that this final sanction came only the very day that he was to pass away,—i.e., approximately two and quarter years after he had taken the leave prior to retirement.

In this brief sketch, I have refrained from mentioning a number of his other activities, such as, his work in connection with the different Mahārāṣṭrian Maṇḍals, etc., in northern India. I have also refrained from referring directly to the great stimulus that he gave to the archaeological activities in various States and Universities,—the day-to-day guidance that he gave to

many historical institutions. But this sort of detailed appraisal has to be reserved for some other occasion. Nevertheless, any appraisal of his work would remain quite inadequate without taking into account the (literally) hundreds of well-illustrated lectures that he gave in connection with the Indus Valley civilization. His lecture for the public on such occasions as the Session of the Indian History Congress or of the Indian Science Congress was always a popular item, and every time he added some fresh charm and local colour to it. He has undoubtedly done much more to popularise the name of Mohenjo Daro in many parts of India than any other living person has been able to do. And his famous "Meyer's Lectures" on the same subject, arranged by the University of Madras (1935), have evoked a tribute for its masterly treatment from such a world-renowned archaeologist as the late Gordon Childe.

OBITUARY NOTICES.

RAO BAHADUR K. N. DIKSHIT, M. A.

It is with a very heavy heart that we record the sad and unexpected demise of Rao Bahadur Kashinath Narayan Dikshit, which occurred at Poona on 12th August 1946. The career of the late Rao Bahadur was a living example of what devoted and intelligent application to any particular subject can achieve. It would not be an exaggeration to say that there have been in India few men who could claim to possess the same expert knowledge of all branches of Archaeology, such as, epigraphy, numismatics, art and architecture, excavations, preservation of monuments etc., as Rao Bahadur Dikshit. In this connection we should like to draw the attention of our readers to the excellent biographical sketch of the late Rao Bahadur, written by his son, Mr. S. K. Dikshit, M.A., which appears elsewhere in this issue.

Rao Bahadur Dikshit had been associated with the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute almost from its very inception. Though he had to spend most of his active years of service outside Poona, he made it a point to keep in constant touch with the various activities of the Institute. For several years he served on the Regulating Council of the Institute and gave it the benefit of his mature experience and sound advice. It had almost become a convention that whenever Rao Bahadur came down to Poona, he should deliver, at the Institute, a lecture, illustrated by lantern slides, about some of his recent archaeological excavations. After his retirement, a couple of years ago, he settled down in Poona and began to take more active interest in the work of this Institute as well as in that of similar academic bodies in Poona. In 1945 he was appointed the Joint Editor of the *Annals*. It is however most unfortunate that he did not live to see more than two issues published under his editorship. Rao Bahadur Dikshit presided over the Aligarh Session of the Indian History Congress and was also the President of more than one Section of the All India Oriental Conference.

In him Indology has lost an eminent votary and this Institute a great friend and guide.

—R. N. D.

DIWAN BAHADUR DR. S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR

The *doyen* of the South Indian Indologists has passed away. The excellent pioneer work done by the late Dr. S. Krishnanswami Aiyangar in the field of Indian History, particularly South Indian History, which made him one of the foremost historians of his generation, is too well-known to need repetition. The two sumptuous volumes of his *Ancient India and South Indian History and Culture*, published by the Oriental Book Agency, Poona, will amply testify to that eminent scholar's wide range and deep penetration. During his tenure as Professor of Indian History and Archaeology at the University of Madras, the late Diwan Bahadur may be said to have established a new tradition of historical research in South India — a tradition, which, one is happy to note, is still ably maintained by his students and associates. This fact must have indeed been a solace to the departed *savant* in his old age.

Both the All India Oriental Conference and the Indian History Congress honoured Dr. Aiyangar with their General Presidencies. This double honour had until recently been quite unique. Only this year, another great scholar, Dr. R. C. Majumdar, who has once been the General President of the Indian History Congress, is elected the General President of the All India Oriental Conference. Dr. Aiyangar was associated with almost all leading academic bodies in India in some capacity or other.

A scientific scholarly research in the field of South Indian History and Archaeology will alone be the most adequate tribute to the memory of the late Diwan Bahadur.

—R. N. D.

Dr. LAKSHMAN SARUP

The news of the death of Dr. Lakshman Sarup came most unexpectedly. Just four days before his death he was quite hale and hearty. He attended the 13th Session of the All India Oriental Conference which was held at Nagpur from 19th to 21st of October 1946, and actively participated in its deliberations. On 22nd of October he joined the excursion to Ramtek Hills arranged by the Local Committee of the Nagpur Session. And on 26th of October he died of heart-failure at Lahore.

Dr. Sarup's excellent work in the field of Vedic Studies is quite well known to the students of the Veda. He has also done admirable work in the field of Classical Sanskrit. Apart from his own researches, the impetus which he gave to Indological research in Punjab will hardly be forgotten. He was once the President of the Vedic Section of the All India Oriental Conference, and the Treasurer of that body from 1943 up to the time of his death. In his death, Sanskrit scholarship has sustained a loss which it will not be easy to repair.

—R. N. D.

PROFESSOR P. P. S. SASTRI

In Prof. P. P. S. Sastri of the Presidency College, Madras, death has snatched away a highly gifted Sanskritist of the South. Prof. Sastri's name will always be remembered particularly in connection with his great edition of the Southern Recension of the Mahābhārata. He has also edited several volumes of the Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Sarasvati Mahal Library, Tanjore, and has thus laid students of Sanskrit literature under deep obligation.

—R. N. D.

PANDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA

On behalf of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, we pay our most respectful homage to the sacred memory of the late Mahāmanā Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, who departed from this world on 12th November 1946. It would indeed be presumptuous on our part to attempt to estimate, even cursorily the most valuable services which Malaviyaji has rendered to India — and to the world — in manifold ways. All that we may do is to send him our mute prayer that, from his heavenly abode, he should bless this Institute, whose work he used to admire and encourage.

—Ed.

CONTENTS

VOLUME XXVII, PARTS III-IV

(1-8-47)

ARTICLES	PAGES
The Vikramāditya Problem : A Fresh Approach, by K. B. Vyas, M.A. ...	209-236
Sātavāhana and Sātakarni by S. A. Joglekar, M.A., LL.B. ...	237-287
Carriage-Manufacture in the Vedic Period and in Ancient China in 1121 B. C. by P. K. Gode, M.A....	288-302
The Interpretation of the Parvasaṃgraha Figures by Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, M.A., Ph.D. ...	303-309
Samjaya's " Eye Divine " by Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, M.A., Ph.D. ...	310-331
REVIEWS	
Bhāratīya-Dravyagūṇa-Granthamālā (in Hindi) by Śrī Ramesh Bedi, Lahore, reviewed by P. K. Gode, M.A. ...	332-334
Books-Received ...	335-338
OBITUARY NOTICES	
Principal Dr. Muhammed Bazlur Rehman, M.A., Ph.D., by Prof. B. D. Verma, M.A. ...	339-340
Professor Dharmananda Kosambi, by the Editor ...	341-343
(1) Dr. Hirananda Sāstri, (2) Panditaraja Prof. K. Rama Pisharoti, (3) Professor H. H. Dodwell, by the Editor ...	344
Śrīgārakallola of Rāyabhaṭṭa, Edited by Prof. N. A. Gore, M.A. ...	345-368

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute

VOL. XXVII]

JULY-OCTOBER 1946

[PARTS III-IV

THE VIKRAMĀDITYA PROBLEM :

A FRESH APPROACH *

BY

K. B. VYAS

I

We have so far discussed the various theories about the identity of Vikramāditya, and noted how two groups of theories - one assuming the authenticity of the legends and considering that a Vikramāditya, king of Mālwa, flourished in the middle of the 1st century B. C., the other, held by several eminent scholars, postulating that Candragupta II represented the Vikramāditya of the traditions - are more in vogue than the others. The former, in the form in which it is usually put, cannot stand, as it involves a serious conflict with the inscriptional evidence. The second has the support of numismatical and some inscriptional evidence, and is corroborated by the general cultural conditions prevailing in Gupta India. But it has to set aside ruthlessly the mass of traditional evidence regarding Vikramāditya. In the form that several of the eminent scholars have presented it - namely, that Candragupta II, who assumed the title Vikramāditya, achieved remarkable military exploits, was renowned for his munificence and patronage of learning and

* This article represents the concluding portion of the author's monograph, 'Vikramāditya: A Historical Study', submitted and accepted for the award of the Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji Gold Medal, 1944, by the University of Bombay.

culture, and became thus so endeared to the public memory that it gratefully associated his name with the prevailing era - it cannot be easily refuted.

We can, however, urge that it entirely ignores the mass of Jain and Brahmanical traditions, and fails to explain the question of the institution of the Vikrama era and its earlier designations Kṛta and Mālava. Moreover, even if we admit that Candragupta II assumed the title Vikramāditya, there is hardly any conclusive proof to show that Candragupta II was the first emperor to assume the proud title. Samudragupta, Candragupta II, Skandagupta and practically the whole dynasty assumed the *biruda* Vikramāditya. Similarly it will be hazardous to rely too much on the assumed similarity between the characters of Candragupta II and the legendary Vikramāditya, for several great Hindu emperors of ancient India—Samudragupta, Candragupta II, Harṣa, Bhoja and others so closely approach the Vikramādityan model that one is almost inclined to believe that they all were influenced by the character of the original Vikramāditya and tried to emulate it. So too the Brahmanical revival in the Gupta period was not evidently the first one of its kind even according to the staunchest protagonists of the Candragupta II theory like Sir R. G. Bhandarkar and Dr. A. B. Keith,¹ both of whom admit that there was a Brahmanical revival earlier in the 1st century. Candragupta II is renowned for his destruction of the Śakas; but the Indian history of the opening centuries of the Christian era is a story of one perpetual struggle between foreigners like the Śakas and next the Hūnas on the one hand, and the suzerain Indian powers, the Kalinga king of Garga Samhitā, Gautamiputra Śātagarni, Candragupta II, Skandagupta, Yaśodharman or Bālāditya, and other kings, on the other. Thus even the argument that the *Śākari* epithet most appropriately applies to Candragupta II will not hold on closer examination.

There are other difficulties as well. The Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang refers to a Vikramāditya as a great Brahmanical king, antagonistic to the Buddhists, renowned for his generosity,

¹ A. B. Keith—A History of Sanskrit Literature, 1928, p. 442.

who was a contemporary of Vasubandhu.' If Candragupta II is intended in this allusion, it is rather strange that Chwang so close to him in time does not mention his name, but merely gives his title, which might apply with equal appropriateness to several kings of the dynasty. Chwang's description too appears to be reminiscent of an age considerably anterior to his own times. He mentions Vikramāditya as a king of Śrāvastī, and Śrāvastī, we know, was in ruins even in Fa Hien's time (399-414 A. D.). Vikramāditya is placed by Chwang about Vasubandhu's time. Now Vasubandhu's works were translated in distant China in 404-5 A. D., presumably after they had attained wide popularity in India, which again must have taken considerable time indeed. Authorities are not, therefore, unanimous in dating Vasubandhu. Keith,¹ Sir R. G. Bhandarkar,² Takakusu³ place Vasubandhu early in the 5th century; while K. B. Pathak⁴ places him under Kumāragupta and Skandagupta. Smith⁵ places him under Candragupta I and Samudragupta, 280-330 A. D., while M. Winternitz⁶ would consider Vasubandhu as having lived towards the end of the 3rd century A. D. These are some of the difficulties that stand in the way of the Candragupta II theory, and have been noticed by scholars⁷ who favour this view. If the view is still maintained by them it is on account of the fact that no alternative explanation is yet available in our present state of knowledge.

II

Have we then to accept the theory that the Vikramāditya of the tradition was a historical figure, ruling in Avantī in the middle of the 1st century B. C., and was the author of the several exploits associated with his name in the various Jaina *prabandhas*? In one sense, yes; but not in the way that the protagonists of the

¹ Keith, *Ibid.*, p. 73.

² R. G. Bhandarkar, *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XX.

³ J. Takakusu, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (London), 1905, 33 ff.

⁴ K. B. Pathak, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XLI, 1912, 244.

⁵ Vincent Smith, *The Early History of India*, 4th edition, 1924, pp. 320, 325, 346.

⁶ Maurice Winternitz, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, Vol. II, Calcutta, 1933, p. 268n3.

⁷ A. S. Altekar, '*Sahyādrī*' (Marathi), October, 1943.

theory would maintain it. To command general acceptance, it must be reconciled with the available epigraphical evidence. Before proceeding to work out the new outline of the theory we should examine and assess afresh the evidence preserved in early literature and see if it yields any indications about the date and the identity of Vikramāditya.

To start with, *Gāthāsaptasatī*¹ alludes to the unbounded generosity of Vikramāditya. *Gāthāsaptasatī* is definitely earlier than Bāṇa who mentions Śātavāhana as the author of the *Gāthākośa*. The Śātavāhana dynasty ended about 238 A. D. and Hāla the author of this anthology is assigned to 17-21 A. D. by Jayaswal.² Mm. Shastri is inclined to place the work in the 1st century A. D. Keith and Jacobi are in favour of a later date on the strength of the developed form of its Mahārāṣṭrī Prakrit. Keith places it between 200-450 A. D.³

Bṛhatkathā of Guṇādhya, faithfully preserved in the abridged versions like *Kathāsaritsāgara* is anterior to Subandhu, Daṇḍin and Bāṇa, i. e. c. 600 A. D. *Bṛhatkathā* belongs to a time when legends about Pāṇini and Vararuci were still current.⁴ On its own evidence⁵ Guṇādhya was a court poet of Śātavāhana. He gives the latter's lineage,⁶ records anecdotes about him,⁷ and desires to win the latter's favour by his Paisāci tale.⁸ The cycle of Udayana legends which were household tales in Kālidāsa's time covers almost the entire span of *Bṛhatkathā*. Thus *Bṛhatkathā* is a very early work indeed which ought to be assigned to 1st-3rd century A. D. at the latest. This *Bṛhatkathā*, judging of course from its Sanskrit versions like the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, refers to a Vikramāditya at numerous places, describing his great generosity, undaunted valour and other qualities. This Vikramāditya must be assigned to a period earlier than the Gupta period. For, if *Bṛhatkathā* was later than the 5th century A. D., and the Vikramāditya described in it represented Candragupta II, then

¹ *Gāthā-saptasatī*, V, 64.

² K. P. Jayaswal, *Journal of the Bihar & Orissa Research Society*, Vol. XVI, 1930, 280.

³ Keith, *Ibid.*, 223-224.

⁴ *Kathāsaritsāgara*, Trans. C. H. Tawney, Vol. I, 1880, pp. 10-17.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

it would be indeed strange that instead of making specific reference to the Gupta emperors and giving their glorious ancestry, it should give only a general appellation applicable to several kings of the dynasty, and a totally false genealogy which would be rather humiliating to the contemporary monarch. To avoid such an absurdity, it becomes necessary to assign *Brhatkathā* to a much earlier period, and consider the Vikramāditya referred to therein as representing a historical personality much anterior to the Guptas.

Subandhu, the writer of the clever and highly paronomastic romance *Vāsavadattā*, 5th century A. D., bewails the demise of Vikramāditya as a recent event, which spelt an irreparable loss to learning and the arts. If he intended to compliment the contemporary sovereign Candragupta, should we not expect him to refer to him specifically and not by a general title, and in a full *praśasti*, and not a stray couplet? Hemacandra, the originator of a great renaissance in early mediaeval Gujarāt, glorified Jayasimhadeva in a series of *praśastiśloka*s at the end of the chapters of his *Sitāha Hemacandra*. A single general allusion would neither satisfy the patron, nor profit the protégé.

Yuan Chwang's testimony we have analysed and criticised above. His description of a Vikramāditya will not apply to Yaśodharman, and will need considerable straining to be applicable even to Candragupta II. Yuan Chwang's description of a Vikramāditya is certainly reminiscent of a historical personality considerably anterior to the Gupta emperors.

Rājatarāṅgī too, if closely scrutinized, will be found to distinguish the Śākari Vikramāditya from his historical namesake,¹ and imply that the Śākari Vikramāditya flourished earlier than the historical one² (Vikramāditya Harṣa), who according to the interpretations discussed in the earlier chapters might be considered as belonging to the first half of the 6th century A. D.

¹ *Rājatarāṅgī*, ed. M. A. Stein, II 5-7 (Vol. I, p. 17).

² *Ibid*, III 125 (Vol. I, p. 28). Compare also Al Beruni's statement that ' the Vikramāditya from whom the era got its name is not identical with that one who killed the Śakas, but only a namesake of his. ' Al Beruni's *India*, ed. Dr. Edward C. Sachau, 1888, Vol. II, p. 6.

We need not examine the later Brahmanical evidence, which is not relevant for the purpose of deciding the historical antiquity of Vikramāditya.

The Jain evidence is indeed one of the most important planks on which the historicity of Vikramāditya rests.¹ The *Paṭṭāvalis*, though often confused, cannot, in the opinion of competent authorities² be dismissed as a pure invention.

This survey of the early Brahmanical, Buddhistic, and Jain evidence almost compels the conclusion that Vikramāditya was a historical personality, and flourished in the middle of the 1st century B. C., inspite of the epigraphical difficulty (which we shall attempt to solve in the sequel) involved in such an assumption. Several scholars have almost instinctively felt constrained to admit the possibility of the existence of a historical Vikramāditya in the 1st century B. C., though they could not bring enough historical evidence to bear upon the problem. Thus Bühler even before 1882 held that the Vikrama era was really established by a king of that name in 56 B. C.³ C. V. Vaidya⁴ and Mm. Haraprasad Śāstri⁵ asserted on the authority of Hala's *Saptakati* that Vikramāditya did exist in the 1st century B. C.⁶ Sten Konow protested against the unjustifiably disdainful attitude of scholars towards Indian tradition,⁷ showed how it agreed with historical facts known from other sources,⁸ and affirmed that its allusion to a *Śākūri* Vikramāditya, who founded an era in 58 B. C.

¹ For the purposes of the present essay, however, it has not been possible to make full use of all this evidence. The author awaits the earliest opportunity to investigate the bearing of all this material on the problem under discussion.

² Sten Konow, *JRAS*, 1932, 955, & *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. II, Pt. I, 1929, lxxvi;

Franklin Edgerton, *Harward Oriental Series*, Vol. XXVI, 1926, lxiv;

M. Winternitz, *H. S. L.*, II, 495.

³ F. Maxmüller, *India What it can Teach Us?* 1882, 285.

⁴ C. V. Vaidya, 'Indian Review', December, 1909.

⁵ Mm. Haraprasad Shastri, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XII, 1913-14, 320.

⁶ This view is also held by several reputed scholars like William Jones, Prof. Rajvade, Prof. R. N. Apte, and others. Vide 'Puruṣārtha' (Marathi) February, 1944, p. 201.

⁷ Sten Konow, *E. I.*, XIV, 1918, 293 f.

⁸ Sten Konow, *Corpus I. I.*, II, Pt. I, lxxvi.

could not be rejected.¹ Smith² corroborated him. He is constrained to admit that " it is possible that such a Rājā may have existed " at that time and place. Charpentier³ too is inclined to hold a similar view. Edgerton too, convinced by Konow's arguments, considers it possible; and even probable, that there really existed a king of Mālwa named Vikramāditya, who founded the era of 58-7 B. C.⁴ He aptly points out that we do not yet know enough of the history of the period to reject categorically the evidence of Jaina traditions.⁵ It is possible, however, he admits, that the later kings who assumed the same title, such as Candragupta II, may have been confused with the original Vikramāditya in popular legends.⁶ Thus quite a number of reputed orientalisists are inclined to favour the historicity of the traditional Vikramāditya of 58-7 B. C.

III

We shall now attempt to sift out the original historical nucleus from the mass of later traditions, and interpret the same in harmony with inscriptional evidence.

(1) A close examination of the *Kathāsarisṭāgāra*, which in its original probably reaches as far back as the 1st century A. D. or so, reveals that Vikramāditya was not a king but a member of the Mālava-gaṇa, who had, for the time being when Ujjayini was invested by the Śakas, taken refuge in Pratiṣṭhāna in the Deccan.⁷ *Kathāsariṭ* states that Vikramāditya was an incarnation of माल्यवत् गण (माल्यवत्तमंजकं गणम् XVIII, i, 27; तेन गणेनोक्तो Id. 33; समवृत्त स गणोत्तमः Id. 35 etc). The description at once catches our attention, for why, of all the gaṇas of Śiva, should Vikramāditya be traced to माल्यवत् गण ?

It is highly probable that माल्यवत् गण is a Sanskrit restoration of मालव गण⁸ and means originally 'a member of the Mālava

¹ Sten Konow, J. R. A. S., 1932, 975.

² Vincent Smith, Oxford History of India, 1919, 151.

³ Jarl Charpentier, Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, 1922, 167 f.

⁴ F. Edgerton, H. O. S., XXVI, lxx-lxvi.

⁵ F. Edgerton, Ibid, lxiv.

⁶ F. Edgerton, Ibid, lxvi.

⁷ *Kathāsarisṭāgāra*, Nirṇayasāgāra, 1889, XVIII, i.

⁸ माल्यवत् गण would give rise to a Pāli equivalent मालव गण under the operation of the phonetic processes mentioned in गौतमः (*Siddha Hema Candra*, VIII-4-306), लो कः (He VIII-4-308), शब्द शौचनिवृत्त (VIII-4-323).

gapa¹. When Somadeva set himself to the task of abridging the earlier *Brhatkathā*, the memories of the Mālavian republic had completely vanished, which led the Sanskrit redactor to restore the original general term (= मालव गण) as a माल्यवत् गण of Śiva, with probably a story invented to explain it. The imaginary ancestry of Vikramāditya also confirms the opinion that Somadeva invented it because he could not easily interpret the earlier account, and because he possibly desired also to glorify the hero of the last *lambaka*.

(2) It cannot be argued that the occurrence of माल्यवत् गण is an accident, or a later interpolation of Somadeva, which was missing in the original. There is no ground for such a doubt; for, at the beginning of the work¹ *Gupādhya*, the writer of the original *Brhatkathā*, is also mentioned as a Mālyavat gapa (= Mālavagapa), and the translation nowhere states that the Mālyavat gapa of Śiva was first born as Vikramāditya through Śiva's orders and later again as the Paisāci poet. As a matter of fact the Sanskrit redactor Somadeva has been considerably exercised as to how to explain the word occurring in the *Kathāpīṭha* in the beginning, and has therefore to invent a fanciful story that Mālyavat gapa interceded on behalf of Puṣpadanta gapa, who was being cursed by the Goddess Gaurī, and was himself cursed, for his friendly intercession, to descend to the earth:

श्रुत्वेत्यानाययद्देवी पुष्पदन्तमतिक्रुधा ॥

मर्त्या भवाविनीतेति विह्वलं तं शशाप सा ।

माल्यवन्तं च विज्ञप्तिं कुर्वाणं तत्कृते गणम् ॥²

The poet, at another place, appears to have been at pains to explain the term Mālyavat. Śiva is described as saying to Malyavat:

यः पूजितोऽस्मि भवता स्वयमाहूतेन मालयेन दुर्गवनभूमिसमुद्भवेन ।

तन्माल्यवानिति भविष्यसि मे गणस्त्वमित्यादिशब्च स विभुर्गिरिजापतिमस्मि ॥³

The ancestry of *Gupādhya*, his father being a king of *nāgas* named *Kirtisena*, the son of *Vāsuki*, looks like a later invention, substituted in place of the original authentic account lost or

¹ *Kathāsuritsāgara*, i, i, 64-65. ² *Ibid*, I, i, 56-57. ³ *Ibid*, I, vii, 111.

unintelligible.¹ Guṇādhya's story of how he was in the court of a Sātavāhana king; how he was compelled on account of a vow to renounce the use of the three languages, Sanskrit and others, and to resort to Paisāci;² how his Paisāci work *Brhatkathā* was presented for patronage to Sātavāhana, who derided it on the ground that its language was barbarous;³ how Guṇādhya then consigned a major part of the work to the fire,⁴ when the king returned to Guṇādhya, made obeisance to him and apologised, and how at his request the last one of the seven books of one lakh of verses each was spared from the fiery ordeal, to be read out to him by Guṇādhya's pupils⁵ - the whole story reads practically like a romance.

Historically, the above account should be reinterpreted as follows. It appears that Guṇādhya was a celebrated popular poet of Mālava gana who composed the *Brhatkathā* in his provincial speech Paisāci⁶ which was different from the language (Māgadhi in earlier and Mahārāṣṭri in later times) of the Deccan and therefore failed to win the approval of Sātavāhana. Possibly Sātavāhana was also reluctant to patronise an outsider belonging to Mālava, which was hostile to Pratiṣṭhāna in immediately preceding times. Nevertheless *Brhatkathā* went on to acquire great popularity and became a celebrated classic. Sātavāhana was in course of time inclined to atone for his earlier indifference and invite the popular poetic genius Guṇādhya to his court. But by this time the poet had lost his Mss., had become broken-hearted, and was considerably advanced in age. He, therefore, could send only his pupils to Sātavāhana's court, while he passed away soon after. Though

¹ Ibid, I, vi, 8. ² Ibid, I, vi, 12. ³ Ibid, I, viii, 10-15.

⁴ Ibid, I, viii, 17-19. ⁵ Ibid, I, viii, 31-34.

⁶ The earliest specimen of Paisāci we come across in the Śāhbāzgarhi and Mansehra versions of Aśokan inscriptions, which, compared to the general Prākṛit Mahārāṣṭri, reveal a striking affinity to Sanskrit. The Gīrnar inscription is linguistically akin to the Śāhbāzgarhi version. We conclude therefore that a dialect of Paisāci (or Paisāci - Pāli) was current in Western and North-western India in the opening centuries of the Christian era. The eastern Kalinga version and the southern Brahmagiri versions show distinct dialectal and even paleographical differences. Thus even from the early times there must have been considerable dialectal differences between Paisāci: Pāli of western India and Māgadhi: Mahārāṣṭri of the Deccan.

* [Annals. B. O. R. I.]

the *Kathāsarit* does not mention it, a considerable period must have elapsed between Sātavāhana's earlier indifference and the later offer of patronage. It appears that at the time when Somadeva composed his version Paisāci was long out of use, and the translator could not catch the proper import of the name Paisāci, for he describes it as —

पिशाचभाषां तां श्रुत्वा तौ च दृष्ट्वा तदाकृती ।

वियामदेन सामूयं स राजैवमभाषत ॥

प्रमाणं समलक्षणाणि पेशाचं नीरसं वचः ।

शान्तिरेनाक्षरन्यासो धिक् पिशाचकथामिमाम् ॥ ¹

Somadeva is, naturally, at his distance of time, easily misled in describing the Paisāci language, and is constrained to weave an imaginary, if ingenious, account of the Mālyavatgaṇa.

Thus in all probability the term Mālyavatgaṇa (Paisāci equivalent *Mālava gaṇa*) applied in *Kathāsarit* to both Guṇādhyā and Vikramāditya signifies originally the same thing, namely, 'a member of the Mālava gaṇa', edified later on into 'a gaṇa of Śiva named Mālyavat'.

This conclusion is confirmed indirectly by the Jaina tradition. For instance the *Prabhūvakacaritra*², the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* of Merutuṅga³, *Vividhatīrthakalpa* of Jinaprabha⁴, *Prabandhakōśa* of Rājasekharasūri,⁵ all maintain a complete silence about Vikrama's parentage, which is significant. If they knew that Vikramāditya hailed from any well-known royal family they would not have done so. Śubhaśīla⁶ mentions Gandharvasena as the father and a Brahman widow as the mother of Vikramārka. Some other Jain works, and Muslim historians like Abul Fazl⁷

¹ Ibid. I, v.ii, 14-15.

² *Prabhūvakacaritra*, ed. Jinavijayaji Muni, Singhi Series, 1940, pp. 43, 49, 56, 58-60.

³ *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, tr. Durgashankar Shastri, Forbes Gujarati Sabha, 1934, pp. 1-13.

⁴ *Vividha Tīrthakalpa*, ed. Jinavijayaji Muni, Singhi Series, 1935, pp. 39, 88-89.

⁵ *Prabandhakōśa*, ed. Jinavijayaji Muni, Singhi Series, 1935, pp. 16, 20, 66-68, 78-83.

⁶ Śubhaśīlaganī, *Śrī Vikrama Caritram*, Vols. I & II, Hemacandrācārya Jaina Granthamala, v. s. 1981.

⁷ Abul Fazl, Allāmi, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, tr. Col. H. S. Jarrett, 1891, 215.

mention that a supernatural being like Gandharba was Vikrama's father. Thus the tradition is significantly silent about Vikrama's parentage or gives a vague and unhistorical account, which indicates that he hailed not from any royal house but was very probably a commoner.¹

(3) Thirdly, it appears probable that Vikrama's original name was Vikramaśīla, which later on expanded into Vikramāditya. The name of a whole last *lambaka* of the *Kathāsarit*, (which is presumably a faithful translation of the *Bṛhatkathā*), is Viśamaśīla, and Vikramāditya is given there only as a second, perhaps a later, appellation.² It is very likely that विषमशील is a mislection for विक्रमशील, for in the old Brāhmī in the centuries just preceding the Christian era क and प are so similar³ that they might be easily confused one for the other. Thus in old Brāhmī

ॐ फ र क ल = विक्रमशील

and

ॐ फ र प ल = विषमशील

The difference between the two forms is so slight that a later scribe could easily have misread *Kr* for *ṣ*, and transcribed the original Vikramaśīla as Viśamaśīla. The mistake escaped discovery because the mislection Viśamaśīla, accidentally, yielded a meaning coming very close to that of the original word Vikramaśīla. Even apart from the paleographical evidence such changes are found by scholars of Prākṛit and the old stages of modern Indian languages, in old Mss. in numbers.

¹ Dr. V. S. Sukthankar in his lectures on 'Mahābhārata' under the auspices of the Bombay University just before his sad and sudden demise, pointed out one important psychological fact in portraying Karṇa's character. Sukthankar pointed out that Karṇa's phenomenal generosity was not a temperamental quality, but a pose, which aimed at disguising his common parentage by emulating and even outdoing the princes of royal blood in charity and generosity, thus showing to people that he was even superior to the princes of royal blood. Karṇa's example, particularly the relation between his ancestry and his generosity pointedly reminds us of Vikrama.

² *Kathāsaritsāgara*, XVIII, i.

³ Vide Mm. G. H. Ojha, *Indian Paleography*, Plate IV,

(4) It stands to reason that the original Vikramaśīla later on assumed the full title Vikramāditya, even as Sherkhān Sur assumed the imperial title Shershāh on ascending the imperial Mughal throne.

The Kathāsaritsāgara describes a Vikramaśakti, who was a general of Vikramāditya¹ and a great conqueror whom Vikramāditya respectfully refers to as a king (nrpa). We are naturally inclined to consider this Vikramaśakti as representing the original Vikramaśīla (mislection, Viṣamaśīla), who must have been a renowned general of the Mālava gaṇa. Later tradition, which found the adventurous general of a republic as not too dignified a figure to serve as the hero of the legends, created another and perhaps a rather shadowy figure out of the original material and named it Vikramāditya. It is significant this Vikramāditya has no personal conquests to boast of. All the military achievements go to the credit of the general Vikramaśakti. Śakti and Śīla are almost synonymous so that it needs hardly any straining to assume that Vikramaśakti represents Vikramaśīla (misread Viṣamaśīla). So many Vikramaprabandhas tell us that Vikramāditya was elected as a king of Avantī, which was without a titular ruler for a long time due to the harassment of some supernatural power, that we are inclined to assume that the great general Vikramaśakti was later on elected as a leader, or an elected 'king', with powers resembling those of a constitutional monarch or a republican President, responsible to a body of the Mantrins for his actions. On this occasion, perhaps, he assumed or was given the title Vikramāditya.

Thus the foregoing discussion seeks to postulate that the oldest tradition going back to the 1st century A. D. indicates that Vikramāditya was a commoner, a member of the Mālava-gaṇa and subsequently its general, and his original name was Vikramaśīla, which was later on expanded into Vikramāditya, when he was given the title rājan (nrpa of Kathāsarit) by his republic, in honour of his glorious victories which marked the occasion of the institution of an era.

¹ *Kathāsaritsāgara*, XVIII, i, 69; 73-79.

IV

We must now attempt an explanation of the term *Kṛta*, which designates the earliest records in the Vikrama era. It has been a veritable puzzle.

Fleet attempted to explain it as representing the *Kritiyas* ('Ki-li-to' in Chwang's records) of Kashmir, whom Chwang describes as cruel, low-born people, who occupied Kashmir after the death of Kaniska.¹ Raychaudhuri² leans to the same view. But such an interpretation cannot be convincing as the *Kritiyas* are, judging from Chwang's description, considerably posterior to the institution of the *Kṛta* era, and besides, their relation with a distant central power like Mālwa has not been established. The two theories of Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar - the theory which equates *Kṛta* with 'made', and the theory which considers *Kṛta* as representing *Kṛta yuga* or the golden era initiated by Puṣya-mitra Śunga, and Mm. Shastri's theory that *Kṛta* is the 4-yearly Vedic cycle, are now, as shown in earlier chapters, no longer credited. The most recent view is that of Dr. Altekar,³ which explains *Kṛta* as the name of a leader or a king of Mālwa in the 1st century B. C. The suggestion implied in this explanation that *Kṛta* is a distinct proper noun and not a mere general term is certainly valuable. But in the detailed form that Dr. Altekar has worked out the theory, it cannot be accepted, for *Kṛta* and Vikramāditya have the same relative position, and if the Vikramāditya theory is rejected because of insufficiency of historical evidence authenticating his existence, so too should be the *Kṛta*-theory for the identical reason. As in the case of Vikramāditya, there is hardly any historical or inscriptional evidence in favour of the existence of a king named *Kṛta* in the given time and place.

(1) What then is the real meaning of the enigmatic term *Kṛta*? The phraseology of transcriptions like मालवगणान्ताते प्रशस्ते

¹ Thomas Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. I, 1904, 278-279.

² H. C. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 1927, 385.

³ A. B. Altekar, E. I. XXIII, 50; *Sahyādri*, October, 1943.

कृतसंज्ञिते (Mandasor inscription of Kṛta 461), and कृतोयु मालव-
पुत्रायाम् (Nagari inscription of Kṛta 481), implies that the terms
Kṛta and Mālava have the same relative position and should be
interpreted in a similar manner.

(2) Turning to the provenance of the find-spots of Kṛta
inscriptions we find that their geographical distribution is as
below :¹

(i) Bijayagadh inscription 50 miles south-east of Isāpur.

(ii) Badvā inscription 140 miles south-south-east of Bijaya-
gadh.

(iii) Nagari inscription 90 miles east of Badvā.

(iv) Nandasā inscription 40 miles north-north-east of Nagari.
As Dr. Altekar points out all the Kṛta inscriptions come from
south-eastern Rajputānā, where the designation Kṛta was pre-
dominantly used and where, according to Dr. Altekar, there was
important revival of Vedic religion in this period.

(3) (i) Now this (S. E. Rajputana, where Kṛta designation
was most popular) is the same region which in Yuan Chwang's
records is referred to as K'i-T'a and described as follows :² "From
Mālwa the pilgrim went *north-west* about 300 li³ (or 3 day's
journey) to the K'i-t'a country. This was above 3000 and its
capital above 20 li in circuit. It was a rich district subject to
Mālwa to which it bore a resemblance. There were about 10
Buddhist monasteries with more than 1000 Brethren who were
adherents of both 'vehicles', and there were numerous members
of other religions, with several tens of Deva-temples." ⁴ "From
K'i-t'a 1000 li is Fo-la-pi" ⁵

¹ Cf. A. S. Altekar, E. I. XXIII, 51.

² Watters, Yuan Chwang, II, 245.

³ = 60 miles.

Cf. S. Beal, *Buddhistic records of the Western world*, Vol. II, 1906, p. 266. "This country (Kie-Ch'a) is 3000 li....The population is dense. The establishments wealthy. There is no king amongst them; the country is an appanage of Mālwa, and the climate, products of the soil, and manners of the people are very similar in both countries. From this going north 1000 li or so we come to Fo-la-pi (Valabhi)."

⁵ Watters, *Ibid*, 246.

(ii) There is, of course, the difficulty that K'i-t'a (of Watter's) is restored as Kie-ch'a by Beal. But it could be pointed out in this connection that the renowned Sinologist Takakusu notes that Ch'a is often misprinted for t'u.¹ Thus as the Chinese characters ch'a and t'a are liable to be confused, and as such an authority as Watters is inclined to transcribe the word as K'i-t'a instead of Kie-ch'a, K'i-t'a in all probability represents the proper transcription.

(iii) Besides, Kie-ch'a would definitely point to Kaccha, which does not fit into the context on account of its far greater distance and its direction relative to Mālwa and Valabhi. From the Kṛta country the pilgrim might have mistaken the westerly or slightly south-westerly direction of Valabhi for a northern; perhaps he first went north and got on the highroads connecting Binnamāla and Gujarāt, and later turned to the south. But if Kaccha is accepted at the intended meaning, then the northerly journey of 1000 li (= 200 miles) from Kaccha to Valabhi will be a gross error on the part of the great Chinese savant, which is improbable. Indeed scholars like Julien, Beal and Watters have accepted K'i-t'a = Kaccha, but that is because the existence of a Kṛta (the exact term we shall give later on) country north-east of Mālwa was not known to them. Some of them are aware of the difficulty of the disparity between Chwang's estimate of the distance between Mālwa and Kaccha and the actual distance between them.

(iv) What country or people then is represented by Chwang's K'i-t'a? According to Watter's scheme of transcription K'i might stand for कि or खि (e.g. A-ye-mu-k'a stands for अयमुख, Kiao-shang-mi stands for कौशाम्बी. Mo-hi-lo-ku-lo represents मिहिरकुल), and t'a represents aspirated dental त, approaching थ (e.g. Mo-t'u-lo stands for मथुरा and Kah-pi-t'a stands for कपिथ). Thus K'i-t'a might roughly represent a Prākṛit word like किय (कहत, कह are also possible) or कथ.

(4) Now the question arises, whether this description of Chwang is confirmed by contemporary and early history. In

¹ Vide J. Takakusu, 'A Record of the Buddhist Religion as practised in India and the Malay Archipelago' (671-695 A. D.), by I-tsing, Tr., Oxford, 1896, p. xxxa.

other words, is there any authority for the existence of a Katha (or Katha) people in the centuries preceding the Christian Era?

We have, fortunately, the testimony of the Greek writers to support us. They mention Kathaians (equated to Kathas by Jayaswal) as one of the most powerful 'nations' of India. Their capital in Alexander's time was Saṅkala. They enjoyed the highest reputation for courage and skill in the art of war, and shortly before their battle with Alexander they had defeated both Poros and the king of the Abhisaras. In their battle with Alexander they did not submit even though they were tremendously outnumbered.¹ Their men and women married by choice.² Beauty and strong physique in children was prized among the Kathas, who (like Saubhūtis) tested the physique of the newly born babies in the second month, and like the Spartans allowed only those to grow into citizens who were physically strong.³ Jayaswal thinks that the story in the Kathopaniṣad of Naciketas offered to Death by his father and attaining immortality represents an attempt of the Katha philosophers to glorify this practice.⁴ The Kathas and Madrakas were known for their learning, as Kṣudrakas and Mālavas (the latter then living on Hydaspes, i. e. the Jhelum after its unity with the Chinab) were renowned for their bravery.⁵ The Katha recension of the Yajurveda and the Kathopaniṣad owe their origin to the Kathas, whose antiquity reaches back to the Vedic times.⁶ The Kathas determined franchise by birth⁷ and elected their 'king'⁸ in contradistinction to Kṣudrakas and Mālavas who had no 'king' consul, and were, therefore, required to send 100 to 150 representatives to negotiate the treaty.⁹ The Kathas were originally a tribe, for Patañjali mentions कठजातीय and कठदेशीय as meaning 'of the Katha tribe' and 'men of the Katha country.'¹⁰

(5) It might perhaps be urged that Katha or K'i-t'a are names distinctly different from Kṛta. There is, however, strong evidence

¹ K. P. Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity* (Vols. I & II combined) 1924, Vol. I, p. 64.

² *Ibid.*, I, p. 64.

³ *Ibid.*, I, 138.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 82.

⁵ *Ibid.*, I, p. 66.

⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 188.

⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 81.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, p. 82.

⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 120.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 135.

to suggest that Kṛta is not an original word current in popular speech, but a Sanskrit restoration of some Prākṛit word, which even in its Sanskrit garb has not been able to shake off the Prākṛit Instrumental Plural termination in five copies of Kṛta inscriptions (Kṛta inscription of 284, of 295, three copies, and of 335). The plurality of the inflections in which the word Kṛta appears, points almost certainly to its Prākṛitic origin. Such restorations were indeed more rampant than many scholars would think. For instance, Sk. राक्षस, शुक्र, अर्थ, सुदु, उपस्थित become रक्षस, सुकस, अत्थ, सुदु and उवस्थिद in general or Mahārāṣṭri Prākṛit. But mediaeval Māgadhī will not tolerate these vulgar Prakritizations and sets about restoring them into pseudo-Sanskrit forms like लस्कस, शुक्र, अस्त, सुदु and उवस्थिद apparently imitating the Sanskrit phonology and believing that it must have been Sanskrit रक्ष, स्त and स्त which must have degenerated into Prākṛit कस, थ and दु. It almost overdoes it when it restores a complete tatsama गच्छ, into गश्च assuming that च्छ must be a vulgar mutation of the classical श्च,¹ for is not प्र पच्छा a vulgar deterioration of Sanskrit पश्चात् ? Thus it is very likely that Kata was a Prakrit word signifying the Katha people, the Kathaians of the Greek writers and the K'i-t'a people of Yuan Ciwang. In the early centuries of the Christian era the Prakrit word क्त also represented Sk क्त (cf. द्वे चिकीत् कता Aśokan Rock Edict II, Gīrnār), which helped the restoration. Thus the composer of the inscriptions (dated in Kṛta era) transformed the original word Kata (ta perhaps aspirated) into the respectable-looking Sanskrit Kṛta, though the terminations still betrayed its real self.

V

How, are we, now, to correlate the terms Kṛta: Mālava: Vikrama, which are found to have designated the Vikrama era at different consecutive periods ?

¹ We are reminded here of Prof. N. B. Divatia's well-known joke in his Wilson Philological lectures, which states how a half-baked Sanskrit Pandit when asked how long since he put on the Deccani turban, answered with gusto अंमं तौ असदृशीज द्रक्षणी पावडी पंहरिये छिये, apparently thinking that द्रक्षणी, with a r interpolated, would look more respectable than the current word दक्षणी.

It appears that originally, as legends like *मालवानां जयः*, *मालव-गणस्य जयः* appearing on Mālwa coins on the 1st century B. C. indicate, a great victory was won by the Mālavas and Kṛtas (in alliance perhaps with other powers), which probably emancipated them from the tyranny of a barbarous foreign power. Their armies were led by a great Mālava general, Vikramāsila, later on perhaps elected a 'king' and given the title Vikramāditya. This momentous event was naturally an occasion for the initiation of an era, just as a future free India might celebrate the anniversary of its emancipation from the foreign yoke, which fact might later on lead to the development of a new era. The era was known to outsiders as the era of Mālavagaṇa, for it was the Mālavagaṇa that led the war of independence against the Śakas, and again it was there that the era was generally current. In Mālwa itself it might have been designated by either names—Mālava and Vikrama—one denoting the republic and the other indicating the great leader whose military genius made the victory possible.¹ But according to the practice in every republican state the name commemorating the republic² had naturally a greater vogue. The Kṛtas too, who had offered a whole-hearted and vigorous co-operation in the common battle of freedom, similarly celebrated their emancipation by counting an era from the date just like their brothers in arms, the Mālavas. It was of course identical with the Mālava (= Vikrama) era. In the Kṛta country the era naturally took the name Kṛta. Perhaps the neighbouring peoples christened the era as Kṛta, from its general currency in that country. No incongruity between these two parallel designations Kṛta and Mālava struck the ancient people, as then Kṛtas (or Kaṭhas) were almost identified with the sister-tribe, the Mālavas. Chwang's description of the Kṛta as attached to the Mālavas and the contiguity of the Kṛta country to Mālwa confirm this

¹ An analogy may be found in the present day *Pañcāṅgas*, which designate the Christian era either as *इंग्रजी तारीख* or as *ख्रिस्ती तारीख*.

² This explains the absence of contemporary numismatical and epigraphical evidence bearing on Vikrama. As Vikrama was not a king in the usual sense he remained unmentioned in the contemporary inscriptions and the Purāṇas. And the coins were issued only the Mālavagaṇa's name.

opinion.¹ The amalgamation of both the people into a greater Mālwa must have commenced sometime before Chwan and ended sometime after him. Thus the subsequent documents refer exclusively to the designation Mālava era.

The numismatical evidence on Mālava coins (सिलवगस्य जयः etc.) precludes the suggestion that the era was originally founded by the Kṛta, and was later on adopted by Mālavas when they expanded and absorbed the neighbouring Kṛta province.

In Mālwa itself the memory of the great general-king Vikrama must have lingered on for centuries and must also have been associated with the Mālava era. We may in future come across evidence showing a specific association of Vikrama's name with the Mālava era even in the opening centuries of the era. Then gradually the republic in Mālwa disappeared before the rising imperialism of the Guptas or perhaps even earlier. But even in Gupta times Mālwa remained a famous seat of culture, and contributed to the general cultural renaissance of the Gupta times. The Mālava republic was gone, and was succeeded by a series of celebrated emperors who held the title Vikramāditya. In popular mind the glory that was Vikramāditya got connected with the splendour that was Gupta, who now ruled Mālwa, and the common appellation helped the process of identification. By now the term Mālavagana had lost its significance, the era came to be designated as the Mālaveśa era. Then gradually when Mālwa got inseparably mixed up in public memory with the name of Vikramāditya whose seat it remained for centuries, the Mālaveśa era came gradually to be designated as the Vikrama era. Later on, with the development of the Vikramāditya tradition and its perpetuation in numerous Vikrama-prabandhas, which gave the story of Vikrama's foundation of the era along with his numerous adventures, the era came to be specifically and systematically referred to a Vikramāditya, described as its founder. But very probably throughout the gradual process of the evolution of the Vikrama legends, based on the achievements of several illustrious kings bearing that appellation, the memory

¹ Cf. Watters II, 245: "It was a rich district subject to Mālwa to which it bore resemblance". Also Deal II, 266: "The country is an appanage of Mālwa and manners of the people are very similar in both countries".

of the original Vikramāditya lingered and served as a central nucleus for the cycle of traditions.

VI

Let us now attempt to reconstruct the story of Vikramāditya's career on the basis of the oldest tradition preserved in *Brhatkathā* as represented by *Kathāsaritsāgara*. Our task here is to sift the evidence from this work and piece together only such of it as is found in agreement with the known facts of history.

We find the following references scattered in the body of *Kathāsaritsāgara* throwing some light on his career. *Kathāsarit* is a jumble of traditions, and we shall have to interpret the allusions in the light of contemporary historical facts.

(i) We have already shown how *Kathāsaritsāgara* describes Vikramasīla (Viṣamasīla) as a great emperor of Ujjayinī, whose general Vikramasakti is described to have conquered the following lands :

सापरान्तश्च ... निर्जितो दक्षिणपथः ।
मध्यदेशः ससौराष्ट्रः सवङ्गाङ्गा च पूर्वदिक् ॥
सकश्मिरा च कीबेरी काष्ठा च करदीकृता ।
म्लेच्छसंघाश्च निहताः शेषाश्च स्थापिता वश ॥

The names of the conquered kings are given as :

गौडः शक्तिकुमारोऽयं कर्णाटोऽयं जयध्वजः ।
लाटो विजयवर्माऽयं काश्मीरोऽयं मुनन्दनः ॥
गोपालः सिन्धुराजोऽयं भिल्लो विन्ध्यबलोप्ययम् ।
निर्मूकः पारसीकोऽयं नृपतिः प्रणमति प्रभा ॥

This description is meant to apply undoubtedly to the Vikramāditya in question. The question of its authenticity we shall discuss immediately.

(ii) At several other places in *Kathāsaritsāgara* a king of Avanti bearing a closely similar name is mentioned. For instance it describes a Vikramasīmha as ruling at Avanti,² a

¹ *Kathāsaritsāgara*, XVIII, i, 76-78.

² *Ibid.*, XVIII, iii, 3-4.

³ *Ibid.*, VI, i, 135-138.

Vikramatunga reigning at Vikramapura,¹ and a Vikramasena, equal to Indra in prowess, whose son Trivikramasena is the hero in the *Velālapaṇcaviṃśati*.² All these kings are practically reflections of one original figure Vikramāditya, who appears thus in various different garbs.

(iii) There are several allusions in *Kathāsaritsāgara*, which may be interpreted as pointing to Vikrama's authority or suzerainty over Pātaliputra. For instance a king named Vikramatunga³ is described as ruling at Pātaliputra. He had a mighty enemy in Narasiṃha, the king of Pratiṣṭhāna, who had a powerful infantry force, and who routed Vikrama's army compelling the latter to retire to Pātaliputra.⁴ Another reference speaks of king Vikramakesarin, 'a store-house of virtues as well as jewels,' ruling in Pātaliputra in old times.⁵

(iv) There are several indications in *Kathāsaritsāgara* pointing to a relationship between Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī and the ruling house of Pratiṣṭhāna.

A story says how king Vikramasimha at Pratiṣṭhāna, attacked all of a sudden by the combined force of his four relatives, Mahābhata, Virabhāhu, Subhata and Pratāpāditya, was defeated and compelled to retire to Ujjayinī where he resided in the house of a hetāera.⁶ Similarly towards the close of *Velālapaṇcaviṃśati* a famous king of Pratiṣṭhāna, Trivikramasena by name, son of Vikramasena, who was equal to Indra in might,⁷ is described as a reincarnation of Vikramāditya, and created out of a portion of God Śiva himself.⁸ Similarly the Vikrama tradition points at numerous places to the relationship between Vikramāditya and the Āndhra Sātavāhana of Pratiṣṭhāna (Śālivāhana of legends), and adds that the latter had finally defeated Vikramāditya. That there was a tradition of matrimonial alliance between the royal houses of the Deccan and Mālwa, is proved by the story of •Dhatna in *Kathāsaritsāgara*,⁹ who was a ruler of a small pro-

¹ Ibid., IX, iii, 182.

² Ibid., VII, i, 51-55.

³ Ibid., XII, x, 5.

⁴ Ibid., XII, viii, 21.

⁵ Ibid., XII, xxxi, 5-6.

⁶ Ibid., XII, viii, 21-22.

⁷ Ibid., VII, iv, 3.

⁸ Ibid., X, ii, 2-15.

⁹ Ibid., XII, xii, 33-34.

vince in the Deccan and married a wife named Candrāvati who hailed from a high family in Mālwa.

The account of Vikramāditya's conquests, read in conjunction with the above references, would favour the following conclusions:

Vikramāditya after his memorable defeat of the Śakas became the avowed lord of Mālwa, Central India, Surāstra, Lāta and Gauda upto Pātaliputra¹. His marriage with Kalingasenā shows that he had an alliance or sway over Kalinga too.² The Ābhira king of Sindha, the reigning sovereign of Kāshmir, and the aboriginal chief of the Vindhya are to be construed probably as merely his allies³, the former two valuing the friendship of the renowned *Śakūni* for the protection of their dominions which bordered on the Scythian settlements. The *Kathāsaritśāgara* describes him as a conqueror of the Dakṣiṇāpatha, but this description should be tempered by its references to Vikramāditya's hostility with the rulers of Pratiṣṭhāna, who are described as having the better of him every time. We can only conclude, therefore, that there was some, perhaps matrimonial, alliance between Vikramāditya and the ruling house of Pratiṣṭhāna, which was later on interpreted by the tradition as his conquest of the Dakṣiṇāpatha, on the analogy of other conquered princes, who gave their daughters to the victor. The references in (iv) do hint at such a state of affairs. But the alliance did not prevent the rising power of the Āndhra Sātavāhanas from attacking and subjugating Mālwa which by its central position effectively protected the upper Indian states and thus stood as a rock against the surging flood of their ambition to be the suzerains--*Ukravartins* of Āryāvarta. Finally of course Vikramāditya could not effectively hold on and succumbed in a last onslaught which ended his career.

To sum up, Vikramāditya may be considered to have been the avowed master of Aparānta, Mālwa, Madhyadeśa, Aṅga, and Vaṅga, and probably Kalinga, and had compelled the frontier

¹ It is not very material for the survey of Vikramāditya's political career, whether we consider him as a Mālava Senāpati or an actual sovereign, as neither of the positions will materially affect our conclusions.

² *Kathāsaritśāgara*, XVIII, v, 32.

³ *Ibid.*, XVIII, i, 77.

chiefs of Sindha and Kāshmir to the position of allies. Throughout his career he was engaged in a contest of power with the Āndhra house of Pratishthāna, in which ultimately he lost, and the Āndhra power emerged successful.

VII

Let us now see if this reconstruction of Vikramāditya's political career in any way conflicts with the known facts of contemporary history. We know from history that the Śūṅga line ended with Devabhūti Śūṅga, 73 B. C., who was killed by his minister Kāṇva Vāsudeva.¹ Vāsudeva Kāṇva founded a line which continued upto 28 B. C., when the last Kāṇva was killed in a battle by an Āndhra Sātavāhana king.² Smith observes that the dynasty occupies a comparatively short period of 45 years, and its history is shrouded in mystery, probably because the times were disturbed.³ The Sātavāhana who overpowered the last Kāṇva had dominions stretching across the whole tableland of the Deccan from sea to sea. Smith considers that Pāṭaliputra was then taken over by the Āndhras, though no Āndhra coins or monuments are yet forthcoming from that area.²

Now again there is a blank in history. After some time, during the opening years of the Christian era, c. 1-10 A. D., we find Satrapa Bhūmaka Kshaharāta, connected with the Śaka line, ruling over Western India, probably as a governor of one or the other of the Indo-Partian kings.³ Of his successors we know only of Ksatrapa Nahapāna, A. D. 40-80.⁴ Later, the whole dynasty was exterminated by Āndhra Gautamiputra Sātakarni, 119 A. D., who is known to have restruck the Kṣatrapa coins. Gautamiputra was the master of the whole country watered by the Godāvarī, Berar, Mālwa, Surāstra, and Aparānta (modern Gujarat and north Konkan). He restored the glory of the Sātavāhana race and proved to be a champion of the Hindu religion.⁵

VIII

This historical survey brings out certain significant indications.

¹ Vincent Smith, *Early History of India*, 1924, 215.

² *Ibid.*, 216.

³ *Ibid.*, 220.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 232.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 221.

Firstly, the fact that Kāṇva rule was comparatively short (73-28 B. C.) and avowedly feeble is, as we shall presently explain, rather significant. Secondly, we must account for the failure of the Āndhras, who were a strong power ever since Pūṣyamitra's time, to conquer Magadha at the close of the Śuṅga power or immediately after it though the feeble Kāṇva rulers were no match for them. We cannot say that the Āndhra power was then complacent or indifferent to ambitious expansion, for their eager conquest of Pāṭaliputra in 28 B. C. precludes such an assumption. Evidently it appears that there was some strong power during the intervening period (73-28 B. C.), which had to be first subjugated in order that an access to northern India might be possible, and that the power was strong enough to resist and arrest the Āndhra march for the time being.

Thirdly, we find that the Śakas in Surāstra and Gujarāt, who were routed in 58 B. C., are able to make an appearance once again only after about half a century, and then too under a protecting suzerain power.

We submit that all these indications point to the rise of a strong Mālava State in Central India which stemmed on the one hand the onrush of the rising Āndhra power and acted as a buffer between it and the weaker northern states, and on the other hand vigilantly checked every movement of the recuperating Śakas. The several allusions in *Kathāsarit* to a personality resembling Vikramāditya in both name and character ruling at Pāṭaliputra, always threatened by the Āndhra power at Pratiṣṭhāna indicates that the ruler of Pāṭaliputra had been an eager vassal king of Vikramāditya, and perhaps governed his province in the latter's name almost as a governor appointed by the suzerain. The Mālava power was rising and was yet heaving from a recent fierce contest with the barbarian Śakas. It could not withstand the tide of Āndhra Sātavāhana power and finally succumbed in about 28 B. C., when Vikramāditya fell in a battle with Sātavāhana (Śālivāhana of the legends), the Āndhras subjugated Mālwa and proceeded further northwards and easily conquered the Kāṇva kingdom. But Mālwa and the northern provinces could not be

retained by the Āndhras.¹ It appears that as the tide of military Āndhran march proceeded backwards to its native province, the Śakas reasserted and reoccupied Aparānta and Mālwa, for we find them occupying these territories soon after under Bhūmaka and Nahapāna.

Thus the existence of a powerful ruler – may be a general-king, or may be a sovereign in the usual sense – in Mālwa (whom we conjecturally identify with the Vikramāditya of the tradition) in the middle of the 1st century B. C. holding under his effective suzerainty a substantial portion of northern India, is authenticated and confirmed by accepted contemporary history.

IX

Let us now give a brief character sketch of Vikramāditya.

Vikrama hailed from an humble family, whose ancestry has not been mentioned, and rose to the position of a chief or leader of the Mālava State sheerly through his adventurous spirit.² His dashing, reckless, adventurous spirit caught the public imagination and earned him the epithet साहसाङ्ग. He somehow came across an invaluable treasure³ which enabled him to extend unprecedented patronage to learning and arts and redeem the indebtedness of a poverty-stricken populace.⁴ His phenomenal generosity has been repeatedly emphasised and held up as a superb ideal in the traditions. His readiness to strive to the utmost, even at the risk of his life, to relieve the misery of the humblest of his subjects, without distinction of caste or creed, was his characteristic trait, which endeared him greatly to the people and made his name a household word. He was thus literally a king of the people, justifying Kālidāsa's description राजा प्रकृतिरञ्जनात्. Similarly his practice of going out at night incognito to discover the grievances of his people was indeed a

¹ This may have been perhaps due to the rising power of the Indo-Parthians kings in the Punjab and north-western India. The Kushānas about a century later were the avowed masters of the whole of northern India.

² His dashing adventurousness has been recorded in the सत्त्वप्रबन्धसु in various Vikramaprabandhas and - caritas.

³ Vide सुवर्णपुरुषसिद्धिप्रबन्ध in Merutuṅga & other Vikramacaritas.

⁴ Cf. the prabandhas on वृत्तिव्याः अन्वेषीकरणम्.

4 [Annals, B. O. R. I.]

novel institution unknown to Kautilyan polity,¹ and caught the fancy of the people. He restored to Ujjayini its former glory and made it a famous seat of learning and culture. He was indeed the king of the masses, whose life was one supreme dedication to the service of the suffering humanity. To his people he was verily a पितर, the actual parents being merely जन्महेतवः. He was, naturally, deified by a grateful people.

X

Vikramāditya was almost an institution by himself and his contribution to Indian culture was many-sided and immensely valuable. In the centuries preceding, Brahmanism had lost royal patronage, and with it the progress of the arts, sciences and literature was completely arrested. This was not indeed due to any persecution, Buddhistic or other, but to a combination of circumstances. The over-ritualistic Brahmanism received a set-back in the rise of Buddhism and went on losing ground, gradually in the succeeding centuries when Buddhism was the predominant creed patronised by royalty. Then came foreign invasions, and with them confusion and chaos. Until settled conditions prevailed once again there was no hope of the resumption of all cultural activities. Vikramāditya destroyed the myth of Śaka invincibility, which had carried everything before it so far, routed the barbarous foreign invaders and inflicted such crushing defeat on them that it took them more than two generations to recover from its effects, and thus brought peace and prosperity to India if only for a brief space. His military achievements once again created an atmosphere which, both on account of the peaceful conditions and the active imperial patronage, was favourable to the progress of civilisation. Vikramāditya's patronage to learning and the arts resulted in and promoted a Brahmanical renaissance. Both Sir R. G. Bhandarkar and Dr. A. B. Keith have been constrained to admit the existence of a Brahmanical renaissance about the beginning of the Christian era. The torch of learning once lighted was never again extinguished for about a millennium and

¹ Vide Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra*—I, 18, 16 (the chapter on राजप्रजाधि).

more. Vikramāditya's example inspired a number of his illustrious successors in the several succeeding centuries to consider it a royal privilege to encourage learning and culture, and Sanskrit literature rose to an eminence hardly ever witnessed in the history of any literature of the world.

Another of Vikramāditya's supreme contributions to Indian culture is that he embodied in himself an ideal of a king which every successive monarch was tempted to copy. Thus we find a Śātavāhana patronising men of letters, a Candragupta appropriating Vikramāditya's name as a proud *biruda*, and emulating Vikramāditya's generosity and adventurous spirit. In later times we find celebrated kings like Muñja and Bhoja of Dhārā and Jayasimha and Kumārapāla of Gujarāt consciously holding Vikramāditya as their model. Muñja's patronage of learning became proverbial.¹ Bhojaprabandhas tell us that Bhoja had celebrated literary gems in his court just like Vikramāditya, was celebrated as a donor (दानी) and kept Vikrama's 'valī' (account-book) in his treasury to see how his charities compared with the munificence of his illustrious predecessor. Famous legends, like those which have gathered around Vikrama's name, grew up round the name of Jayasimhadeva Solanki of Gujarāt,² indicating that the latter imitated the character of the Vikramāditya of the legends. A Jaina prabandha tells us in a pseudo-prophetic vein that Kumārapāla Solanki would resemble Vikramāditya. Thus Vikramāditya supplied an ideal which inspired and guided every succeeding monarch in promoting the material and cultural welfare of the people.

Vikramāditya's highest service to the cause of suffering humanity was his emphasis on the king's complete responsibility for the condition of his people, and his prime duty of promoting the spiritual and temporal welfare of his subjects. And this was not to be left to the tender mercies of the officers of the state. The king himself was to go round and keep a ceaseless vigil over the affairs of the state, redress the wrongs and relieve the

¹ Cf. the celebrated saying गते सुजे यशःपुञ्जे निरालम्बा सखती ।

² Cf. the story of Viravara in *Kathāsarit* (XII-xi), and that of Jagadeva Paramāra in *Siddharāja-prabandhas*. Similarly Vikrama's subjugation of Agnivetāla is reminiscent in Jayasimha's conquest of Barbaraka.

distress of the suffering, wherever and whenever found, without any distinctions of caste or creed. Thus Vikramāditya by his example turned the institution of despotic monarchy into a trusteeship of the people. This new orientation of kingly duties appealed to many of the succeeding monarchs - Candragupta II, Harṣa, Bhoja, Jayasimha and others. Perhaps the ambition to win an immortal name like Vikramāditya's was the impelling motive in this emulation. But the fact remains that from the 1st century B. C. till the advent of the Muslims every illustrious sovereign sought to emulate Vikramāditya by patronising learning and culture, promoting welfare of the people, and relieving the miseries of the suffering. If they wanted to be considered worthy of a comparison with Vikramāditya, they could not well afford to lose themselves in the enjoyment of riches and power but must always persevere in their kingly duties, as exemplified by Vikramāditya. Such was the influence of Vikramāditya on the life of ancient Hindu India embracing all its many-sided aspects, political, social, cultural.

Vikramāditya has been thus completely woven into the fabric of Indian culture. He is the luminous figure shining out of the dim forgotten past, evoking memories of a glory that was 'Ind',¹ rising as a loadstar to guide the destinies of India for centuries. With us today he is an impelling conception, a living faith, strong, unbending before the insolent might of the foreigners, inspired by a rich cultural heritage resting always on Dharma. He is today "our Pillar of Fire, leading us from the bondage to the land of Promise."²

¹ Śrī K. M. Munshi's note on the Bi-millennial Anniversary of Vikramāditya, *The Social Welfare*. 9-4-1943.

² Śrī K. M. Munshi, 'Vikramāditya, Our Pillar of Fire', *The Social Welfare*, 10-12-1943.

SĀTAVĀHANA AND SĀTAKARṆĪ

· BY

S. A. JOGLEKAR

INTRODUCTORY :

Interpretation of the terms Sātavāhana and Sātakarṇi is one of the unsolved riddles of ancient Indian history. The problem has been studied by several scholars from different points of view ; but the solutions suggested by them have so far failed to receive general support. Probably in desperation a scholar has recently stigmatised these efforts as idle (1. II. 552). The problem however is well worth a fresh study. In order to appreciate its complexities and the solution thereof submitted by me, a statement of the material and review of the results of research would be necessary.

THE MATERIAL

A. *Sātavāhana*

(1) *References in Inscriptions :—*

Place	Form	Remarks	Reference
Nāsik	Sādavāhana	Denotes the Kula	(2. No. 1144).
" "	Sātavāhana	" " "	(2. No. 1123).
Nānā Ghāt	" "	" " "	(2. No. 1113).
Myākadoni	Sātav[ā]hanānam	" " "	(3. XIV. 155).
Nānā Ghāt	Sātavāhana	" " a prince	(2. No. 1118).

All these references are from the inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas themselves. The earliest of these references is No. 1144,

from Nāsik. It belongs to the time of Kṛṣṇa, the second king in the Purāṇic list of Āndhra Kings. It refers to the Kūla. No. 1118 gives Sātavāhana as the name of a prince in the dynasty. These references show that Sātavāhana was the name of the Imperial dynasty and also the name of a prince therein. They also show that the alternate forms Sātavāhana and Sādavāhana were used to signify the same term. The term does not occur in the inscriptions of contemporary dynasties.

(2) *References in Coin Legends.*

The term does not appear in full in the legend of any coins published so far. The legend Sātasa has been taken by Rapson and Smith to be an abbreviation of Sātakarṇi and coins with this legend have been attributed to one or other of the different Sātakarṇis in this dynasty. The legend may as well be an abbreviation of Sātavāhana. At Aurangābād in the Nizam's Dominions, I obtained a rectangular copper coin with the legend [Rāño] S (i) ri Sadavāha [no] (4. VI. No. 3). Mirashi has published a similar coin, also obtained in the Nizam's Dominions, with the legend: Ramño Siri-Sādavāha [nasa] (5. VII. 1). These coins undoubtedly denote a personal name and although the name does not occur in any of the Purāṇic lists, the legend finally proves the actual rule of a king bearing that name. Mirashi ascribes it to the founder of the dynasty and Altekar to Kumāra Sātavāhana of the Nānā-Ghaṭ Inscription (5. VII. 3 n. 1). According to Gardner's dictum (6. 2) the testimony of these undoubtedly genuine coins will have to be preferred to that of the Purāṇas, which were admittedly compiled in the post-Sātavāhana age. The coin legends prove, therefore, that Sadavāhana or Sādavāhana is the earliest form; and that, if the coin is to be ascribed to Kumāra Sātavāhana, Sātavāhana, Sadavāhana and Sādavāhana were alternate forms.

(3) *Purāṇic References:—*

The term does not occur in any of the recognised Purāṇas. The often edited and interpolated Bhaviṣya Purāṇa (Pratisarga Parva I. 24) refers to king Śālivāhana; and in the Yuga-Purāṇa, the founder of the dynasty is called Sātu (7. XVI. 290).

(4) References in Literature :—

We come across the following forms in mediaeval Sanskrit and Prākṛit Literature :—

Reference No.	Form No.	Form	Identification, if any and Remarks	Reference
1	A	Sāta- vāhana	(a) <i>Personal name</i> Author of Gāthā-Sapta śatī	Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa in Harṣa- Carita (8).
2			"	Rājasekhara (9).
3			"	Colophon from a Mss. attri- buting the work to Hāla Sātavāhana (10. 349).
4			Uncertain	According to legend, Guṇā- dhyā dedicated to him his Prākṛit Kathā-Sarit-Sāga- ra. Somadeva, in his Sanskrit version of Kathā- Sarit-Sāgara, gives the legend of Sātavāhana and an interpretation (11).
5			"	Merutuṅga in Prabandha- Cintāmaṇi.
6			"	Prabhāvaka-Carita (12)
7			Uncertain, king of Kuntala	Rājasekhara in Kāvya- Mīmāṃsā (13). Indenti- fied with Hāla (14. 339).
8			Uncertain, king of Pratiṣṭhāna	Jinaprabha-Sūri in Prati- sthāna-Pattana-Kalpa.
9			"	Rājasekhara In Caturvīm- śatī-Prabandha.
10			Hāla	Nāgdeva Bhaṭṭopādhyāya in his Telugu commentary on Amarakośa (15).
11			"	Hema-Candra in Anekār- tha (16).
12			"	Abhidhānacintāmaṇi (17). The commentator also gives an interpretation.
13			(b) <i>Dynastic Name</i>	Ārya-Maṇjuśrī-Mūla-Kal- pa refers to a Sātavāhana king, Śveta Sucandra (v. 622).

Reference No.	Form No.	Form	Identification, if any and Remarks	Reference
14				Kalhana in <i>Rajatarangini</i> , refers to the Śātavāhana dynasty of Kāsmira.
15			(c) Tribal Name	Brhaddeśi, a work on music, distinguishes the Śātavāhani tune from the Āndhrī tune (18. XI. 13).
16	B	Śāta-vāhana	Dynastic name	Kāma-Sūtra of Vātsyāyana (19).
17	C	Śāla-vāhana	Uncertain, king of Paiṭhan	Āvaśyaka-Sūtra.
18			"	Bhadreśvara Kathāvalī (20. 103).
19			Hāla	Prākṛit Mss. of Līlāvatī (21).
20			"	Abhidhānacintāmaṇi gives this as a synonym of Hāla (17).
21	D	Śātavāhanāyanī	Personal name	Alias of Śakti-Kumāra, the last king of Pratiṣṭhāna (22. X, 129-134).
22	E	Śātavāhana	Uncertain, king of Mahārāstra	Kālakācārya Kathānaka (20. 101).
23	F	Śāla-vāhana	Author of Gāthā Sapta-Śatī	Colophon at the end of the fifth Sataka of the work (23. 54).
24	G	Śāli-vāhana	"	Gāthā-Sapta-Śatī: (1) Dr. Peterson's Edition; (2) Jayapur Mss.; (3) Alwar Mss.; (4) the commentary of Gaṅgādhara Bhaṭṭa (24).
25			Hāla	Kaśirasvāmī's commentary on Amara-Kośa (II. 8. 2).
26			Uncertain, king of Mahārāstra	Kālakācārya-Kathānaka: the king to whom Kālaka repaired after the disaster at Ujjain (20. 95).
27			"	Mss. of Dvā-triṃsat-Putalikā.
28			"	Muhūrta-Mārtanda. Alam-kāra. v. 3.

Reference No.	Form No.	Form	Identification, if any and Remarks	Reference
29	H	Sāli-vāhana	Uncertain	Kalpa-Pradīpikā of Jina-prabha-Sūri
30	I	Sālāhana	Hāla	Prthvinātha eulogises the king (23 v. 469).
31			"	Abhidhānacintāmaṇi gives this as a synonym of Hāla (V. 272).
32			"	Deśi Nāma-Mālā gives this as a synonym of Hāla (VIII. 36).
33	J	Sālāhaṇi	"	Abhidhānacintāmaṇi.
34	K	Salavān	"	Legendary founder of the Sālīvāhana era as referred to in the folk songs of Punjab (25. 205).
35	L	Sāla	"	Haimānekārtha.
36			"	Trikāṇḍaśeṣānekārtha.
37			"	Anekārthakairavākarakau-mudi.
38	M	Sāyavā-hana	Uncertain	Jaina Mahārāṣṭri form given by Pischell.
39	N	Śākavā-hana	Dynastic name	Rajavade gives this form (26. 174) but I have been unable to trace the source.

Out of the references collected above 4 refer to the Kula, of which again 2 can be directly connected with the Imperial dynasty. As a personal name it generally refers to Hāla. The references to the King of Mahārāṣṭra, Kuntala and Pratiṣṭhāna may also denote Hāla. Though there is nothing in the Gāthā-Sapta-Śatī to indicate Jaina influence, Hāla appears to have been a particular favourite with the Jaina authors, some of whom have claimed him for their faith. (22. IX. 149) Bāṇa-Bhaṭṭa, Vātsyāyana, Rajaśekhara and Soma-Deva are chronologically the earliest of the authors quoted in the table. They all have retained the original form. The first change appears to have taken place in or about the 11th century, as recorded by Kṣīra-svāmi. Thereafter the original assumed several fanciful forms

at the hands of the Jaina authors of Surāṣṭra, where Śātavāhana traditions were weak. They were concerned with the Śātavāhana dynasty only because it was at the request of the kings therein that Kālakācārya changed the date of the Paryūṣana festival. These references show the extent to which the original form was corrupted in mediaeval times; and that no rules of Apabhraṃśa can be applied to or evolved therefrom.

(5) *Place Names* :—

The Myākadoni inscription (3. XIV. 155) given Śātavāhanihār as name of a province. It belongs to a late period in the Śātavāhana epoch, the reign of Puṣumāvi. Śātāhaniratṭha appears as the name of a region in the Hira-Haḍagalli plates of the Pallava king Śiva-Skanda-Varman (2. No. 1209). Myākadoni and Hira-Haḍagalli are villages in the modern district of Bellāry. An inscription of the Kadamba king Mayūraśarmā has been recently discovered near the fort of Chittaladurg in the Mysore State. It gives a list of the kings and provinces conquered by him. According to Kṛṣṇa's reading it includes Śaka-sthana Saṃindaka (26-50). Jayaswal reads it as Śātāhanistha Sendraka (27. 220), which reading according to Sarkar is impossible (28. 449). Jayaswal's interpretation, if not the reading, would appear to be historically more acceptable. The Kadamba kingdom was more or less local and centred around Banavāsi and Hanagal. Mayūraśarmā could not therefore have defeated the Śakas of Mālavā or Surāṣṭra; on the other hand he could certainly have defeated the local Sendraka chieftains. Sattanapalli, the headquarters of the Taluka in the Guntur District and Śāntanūru in the Adoni Taluka (29. 25) are place-names which may be traced to the Śātavāhanas. The Vinaya Texts refer to an unidentified town named Setakannik on the southern border of the Majjhim country (30. 38). It appears that these places and provinces were named by the Śātavāhanas after themselves, after their conquest of and settlement in the south.

(6) *Śātavāhana Worship* :—

Aiyangar refers to the prevalence of Śātavāhana worship at a town settled by the Pallava king Kārikāla, near the mouth of Kāveri (31. 144). Pandit Jayacandra Vidyalamkar is not

sure whether this was the worship of the monarch, like that of Augustus, or whether it was the worship of the dynastic deity of the Sātavāhanas (32. II. 1044). The Tāmil Purāṇa Śilappadikāram refers to two deities, Puramṇaiyyān Vaḷakottam and Pāsaṇḍa Śāttan (IX. 11, 12 and 15). Adiyārkunallār, a commentator of this Purāṇa gives Sātavāhana as a synonym of the Śāttan deity. Pāsaṇḍas are heretical sects and among their deities Śāttan was prominent. Dikshitar identifies the deity with Śasta, whose temples are found on the boundaries of Tāmil villages, which are visited by people in distress; Śasta or Mahā-Śasta is the son of Śiva, born when Śiva embraced Mohini (33. 51). These are merely local deities and their sole function is to guard the boundaries of the villages (29. 31). Ketkar mentions the existence of temples dedicated to Sātavāhana, at Kalahata in the Patialā State (34. 13). In view of the prevalence in the Punjab of the legends of Rājā Rasālu, the son of Śālivāhana, and the legend that Śālivāhana lost his life in the battle of Karor, near Mulatān, where he routed the Scythians (35. II. 21), this worship may be in the nature of hero-worship. It will be appreciated that such a distinction does not stand to the credit of any other historic figure.

(7) *Modern References:—*

Rajavade obtained a copper-plate at Maṅgaḷavedhe in the Sholapur District. It is in old Marāṭhī script and is dated in Śrī Śālivāna Śaka 410 (36. 49). The Yādava grant of Śaka 1194 and the Thāpā plates of Śaka 1212 (now lost), refer to the Śakā era as the Śālivāhana era. The Harihara plates of Bukka Rāya of Vijayanagar of 1276 also refer to the era in the same form. Ray Choudhuri makes a reference to the Bhāgalapur plates of Nārāyaṇa Pāla of Bengal, wherein appears the form Sātivāhana (14. 336). The era ascribed to the Sātavāhanas is never known as such but is always called the Śālivāhana era. The Ain-i-Akbari states that the Bhaṭṭi Rājputs claim descent from Śālivāhana. Śālivāhana-Carita, a Marāṭhī legend printed in the last century gives an account of the birth and exploits of Śālivāhana, and of the establishment of his era to the south of the Narmadā (22. X. 127).

B. *Sātakarni* :--(1) *References in Inscriptions* :--

Place	Form	Identification or alias	Reference
Nanā Ghāt	Sātakani	Sātakarni I	2. No. 1114
Hāthi-Gumphā	Sātakani	"	2. No. 1345
	Sātakanim	"	7. XIV
	Sātakanim }		
	Sātakanim	"	37. 11
	Sakañni	"	28. 207
Sāñci	Sātakani	Sātakarni I or II	7. 1917. 442
Nāsik	Sātakani	Gautamiputra	2. No. 1123 & 2126
	Sadakani	"	2. No. 1125
	Sātakani	Yajñaśri	2. No. 1146
Kānheri	Sātakani	"	2. No. 1024
	Sātakamni	"	2. No. 987
	Sāta(karni)	Vāsisthīputra	2. No. 994
Girnār-Juṇā- gadli	Sātakarni		2 No. 965
Talgundā	Sātakarni	Cutu Sāta- karni	28. 445
Malavalli	Sātakarni	"	38. VII. 252
	Sātakanni	"	2. No. 1195
Banavāsi	Sātakarni	Hāritīputra Vinhu Kāda Cutukulānanda	38. 1885. 331
	Sātakamniśa	"	2. No. 1186
Kudā	Sāta	Name of a minister	39
Nāsik	(Sā)takani	Name of a writer	2. No. 1124
	() takani	"	40. 556

All these inscriptions belong to Sātavāhana epoch. The Girnār inscription belongs to the contemporary Kṣatrapa dynasty. The Cutus were either the feudatories of Sātavāhanas or a petty independent contemporary power. The forms therefore show little variation.

(2) References in Coin Legends :--

Rapson gives the following forms in his Catalogue :--

No.	Form of the legend	Identification
1	Raño Sara Satasa रञ्जो सर सतस	Sātakarni I or II
2	Raño Siri Sātasa रञ्जो सिरि सातस	" "
9	(Raño) Satakarnisa सतकंणि[-] .	Uncertain
117	Sātisa	Śrī Candra
119	सतस	" "
PIVI. GP. 1	Sātasa	" "
129	Satisa सतिस	" "
PIVI. GP. 3	Sātisa	" "
132	त]कणस	Yajñaśrī
135	सतकणस	" "
148	Sātakarnisa	" "
PIVI. GP. 6	सतकंणिसं	" "
155	तक]णस	" "
165	Sāta	" "
171	Sātaka[na	Uncertain
177	Sa (ta) kanisa	" "
180	ri Kāṇha Sata [ka]	Kṛṣṇa
PIVII. GP. 5	Satakanasa	Rudra
253	नि] पुतस सिरि सातक [...	Gautamīputra
254	रञ्जो गौत [...] तकणिस	" "
255	रञ्जो गौत [म.. सि] रि सातकणिस	" "
256	रञ्जो गौतमिपुतस सिरि [..] तक [णिस	" "

Coins Nos. 1 and 2 were obtained by Pandit Bhagavanlal in Western India. Rapson ascribes them to Śrī Sātakarni of the Nānā Ghāt Inscription. Smith, however, ascribes them to Svāti, No. 10 in the Purāṇic list (41. 1903. 615). The legend on coin No. 9 is reversed and blundered and will not therefore be of much use to us in determining the original form. Bhagavanlal's Sopara coin (No. 178 in Rapson) is described by him in detail (22 XV. 305). The legend appears thus: [.....]nasa Gotam (a) putassa Hira Yañā Hātakapisa: (Raño Gotamiputasa Siri Yañā Sātakapisa). It is in accordance with the dialectic peculiarities of the Kṛgnā district. On the coins from the Tarhala hoard the legend appears as Sātakapikasa, Sātakapisa, Sātakamisa, Śātakapisa, Sātaka and Sāta (5. 11. 83), and with several distinctive epithets. These coins show the legend Sāta more consistently. Princes of the Cutu dynasty also bore the name Sātakarni (38. VII. 232). We need not conclude from this that they belonged to the Sātavāhana family. Rapson gives a Cutu coin (No. 234) with the legend Sadaka[na]. Mahārathi coins discovered at Chittaladruḡ have the same legend (42. 75). The legend on the circular clay seal dug up at Candravalli along with some Mahārathi coins has been read by Gopalachari (29. 34) as Sadakana. *Ta* and *da* replacing each other appears to be a feature common to both the terms in issue. Rapson believed Sātaka and Sadakana were derived from Sātakarni. Sāta and Sāti, Sada and Saḍa, Sātisa and Satisa, Sātas and Satas may be abbreviations of either of these terms.

(3) Purāṇic References:—

The variations in the Purāṇic lists are as given below:—

Pages of DKA (47)	No in the list	Alias if any	Vāyu	Brahmāṇḍa and Viṣṇu	Matsya	Bhāgavata	Notes
p. 39	3		Sātakarṇi	Sāntakarṇi	Malakarṇi Mālakani Sālakarṇi Sālaparṇi Mallakarṇi	Sāntakarpa Sāntavarṇa	
p. 39	6		Sātakarṇi				(a)
p. 40	12	Mrgendra	Mahendra Svātikarṇa Sātakarṇi		Bhagendra Narendra Svātivarṇa Sāntikarṇa		
p. 40	13	Kuntala	Sātakarṇi		Kuśala Kṣetrula Sāntikarṇi		
p. 40	14	Svāti	Svātiseṇo		Svātikarṇa Svātikarṇo Svātivarṇo Svātikarṇo Svātiseṇo Sātikarṇo		
p. 41	20	Sundarā	Sunandana Sāntakirtti		Sundarā	Sunāndana	(b)
p. 42	21	Cakora	Cakāra	Cakāra Sāntakarṇi	Cakāra Rajā Svāntakarṇa	Cakara	
p. 42	22	Gotami-putra		Gomati-putra		Gomati-putra	(c)
p. 42	23	Śivaśrī	Śirasīputra Sātakarṇi	Śivaśrī Sātakarṇi Sāntakarṇi	Śiraśriva Sāntakarṇa	Midaśrāh Modaśrī Modaśrī	
p. 42	26	Siva Skandha		Śivasvanda Siva uuda	Śiraśkandha Sāmakarṇi Sāukarṇa Sālakarṇi	Śiva- ekandha Sivaskanda	
p. 42 p. 43	27	Yajña Śrī	Yajuhśrī Sāmakarṇy	Suṅgaśrī	Sātakarṇi	Yajñasāra Yajñasīla	(d)
p. 43	29	Candra Śrī	Caṇḍaśrī Daṇḍaśrī	Daṇḍaśrī	Caṇḍa Vanḍa Sāntikarṇa Sāmakarṇi Candraśrī	Caṇḍaśrī Candraśrī Candra- vīrya Candraśrī	

(a) No marked variations. (b) Usual variations. (c) Nowhere called Sātakarṇi. (d) Yajuhśrī in a 1, a 2, a 4, b, f, g, l Mss of Vāyu and Yajuhśrī in d, h, k Mss of Vāyu.

The various forms assumed by the original are so fanciful that they may be neglected for our present purpose. This variety may be due to lack or neglect of original material and tradition.

(4) *References in Literature* --

Jaina legend refers to Satigani, Rājā of Paithan and a contemporary of the Saka rulers of Ujjain (22. IX. 149). This form is evidently a corruption of Sātakarṇi. Though there are a number of Sātakārṇis in the dynasty, there are none preserved in tradition.

II INTERPRETATION OF SĀTAVĀHANA AND SĀTAKARNI :--

(1) *Introductory*

The references show that the original form was Sātavāhana, Sadavāhana or Sādavāhana and neither Śālivāhana nor Śāta-vāhana; and that Sāta was a recognised abbreviation of Sātavāhana. Later, when original material was neglected or misunderstood these names corrupted into several fanciful forms.

The Purāṇic lists of the Āndhra kings begin with Simuka, who in the Nānā Ghāt inscription is called a Sātavāhana. In the Nāsik inscription of the time of his immediate successor Kṛṣṇa, Sādavāhana appears as the name of the Kula. It could not have become a family name so early, if it was only an alias of Simuka. The term Sātavāhana must therefore have been in use even before Simuka, the founder of the fortunes of the family and the first Sāta to extend his dominions northwards, which brought him and his family within the perview of the Purāṇic writers (43). The Nānā Ghāt relieve inscriptions and the coin legends show that even after it became a dynastic name it still continued to be a personal name. Jaina tradition refers to king Sātavāhana, who built many temples and Caityas, but in the closing years of his life became wicked, and was therefore dethroned and killed. The personal name suggests that the family name was derived from it.

On the other hand, in the original sources, Sātakarṇi always appears as a personal name and never as a dynastic name. It appears either by itself or in conjunction with some alias or distinctive epithet. When such epithets are absent it is difficult

to identify the kings, like the Satakarni of the Hathl Gumptha inscription. Kana, Kubha, Khada, Ruda and Saka of the Satakarni coin legends of the Tarhala hoard have not yet been identified. Many kings of the Satavahana and Cutu dynasties and common persons too bore this name. Smith made a wide statement when he said that the Andhra kings had Satakarni as their dynastic title or family name and inferred that the terms Satakarni and Andhra were therefore synonymous (41. 1902. 653). Rapson went further when he stated that the Cutu Kula itself belonged to the family of the Satakarnis (44. xliii), that is the Satavahanas. Smith had probably based his inference on an earlier statement that Satakarni may have been a surname of the Satavahana race (45. 1874-75, 133). Pryzluski also proceeds on the assumption that Satavahana and Satakarni are synonymous. None of these scholars however have submitted any evidence in support of this surmise. The very fact that the personal name Satakarni is common to the Satavahana and Cutu dynasties, while Satavahana is a personal and also a family name in the Satavahana dynasty only, is sufficient to dislodge the proposition. It is common knowledge that Shivaji belonged to the Bhonsale family; and yet many historians have styled it as the House of Shivaji; and like the Satakarnis in the Satavahana dynasty there were many Shivajis in the Bhonsale family. The term Satakarni has been very loosely used in the Puranas and the variety has led to much speculation. Pargiter says that no particular importance need be attached to the different readings in the Puranas, like Sati, Sant, Santi, Sita, with S often instead of Ś in these forms; and Karṇa, Karṇi, Kona and Varṇa etc. According to him the original Prākṛit name must be Satakarni, which appears generally on coins, of which Śatakarni is a Sanskritised form and from this must have derived the other forms, like Svātikarṇa and Svāтивarṇa (46. 37). Smith believed Svāti to be a corruption of Sāta (41. 1902. 663). Krishnaswami believes Svātikarṇa to be the original form of Satakarni (3. XVIII, 317), because of its greater naturalness. Another scholar believes Satakarṇa to be so natural that any attempt to interpret it would be as idle as to seek explanation of names like Lambakarṇa or Kumbhakarṇa (1. II, 552). It will be interesting to

recall here that the Lambakarnas of the Mahāvamso have been explained as a race of people that wear large ear ornaments (47. 152). Svātikarna and Śatakarna are forms which are not obtained in inscriptions or coin legends. Though Sāta is common to both Sātavāhana and Śatakarni and may be the abbreviation of either, we need not bind ourselves down to the proposition that they are or ought to be identical in meaning and that the interpretation of any one of them should be such as would suit the other.

(2) *Legendary* :—

The Kathā-Sarit-Sāgara gives the legend of Sātavāhana (48. I. 67). Dīpakarni's (also called Dvīpakarni) queen Śaktimatī died of snake bite. The king was dejected, as he had no son. Śiva appeared to him in dream, advised him to repair to a forest, where he would see a boy riding a lion, whom he should adopt. The king accordingly went to the jungle and saw the promised boy. Being thirsty the lion placed the boy on the ground and went to a pond nearby. Seeing his opportunity the king wounded the lion with an arrow, whereupon a human form emerged out of the lion's body and told the king that he was a Yakṣa named Sāta: he had secretly married the daughter of a sage and when the sage came to know this he cursed the couple, which turned them into a pair of lions: the limitation of the curse was till she gave birth to a son and he was wounded by Dīpakarni's arrow. Handing over the boy to the king the Yakṣa disappeared. As the king had seen the boy riding the Yakṣa Sāta, the prince was named Sātavāhana, and placed on the throne.

Detailed account of Yakṣa Sāta is given in the Saṃyuktavastu (XXXI), from which we get the following geneology :—

Pañcāla (Yakṣa king of
Gāndhāra).

Sāta (Tutelary
Yakṣa of Rājagṛha).

Pañcika (Genius of riches,
general of
Kubera).

Abhirati (Goddess
of fertility).

Sātagiri.

500 Yakṣas.

Sāta was the tutelary deity of the kingdom and the guardian of the peoples of Rājagṛha. He was succeeded to this office by his son, Sātāgiri. According to Chinese canon Hārītī was the wife of Pāñcika (49. 44). She has been identified by Coomaraswamy with Abhirati. Despite the protests of Sātāgiri, she used to devour the children of Rājagṛha. She was converted by Buddha and was promised offerings of food. Thereafter she became the protectress of the children and of the fertility of the realm. She is said to have given her five hundred children to the Saṅgha. Images of Pāñcika and Hārītī were common in Buddhist times, though her father and brother appear to have been neglected. Whether there is any connection between this Sāta and the legendary Yakṣa Sāta, who was the vehicle of Sātavāhana, is not known.

At this point I may be allowed to make a little digression and a suggestion. Cunningham makes a reference to a cave near Rājagṛha, called the Sattapanni cave (35. I. 21-22). It was in this cave that the first Buddhist Council was held (50. 10), under the patronage of Ajātasatru. Yakṣa Sāta was the protector of Bimbisāra and of the merchants who flocked to the prosperous land of Magadha. Merchants travelled in caravans under the leadership of a Sattavāha, who was a kind of an eldersman (51. 147). Near Gayā, in the Barābara Hills, we have the Sātāghara Caves (35. I. 44). South of the Penagangā river and the Cāndā and Akolā Districts of the Central Provinces and Berār, we come across the Sātamālā hills in the Nizam's Dominions. It will be remembered that large hoards of Sātavāhana coins were discovered in the Akolā District, at Tarhala, and in the Brahmapuri Tahsil of the Cāndā District (52. 116-7). To the west of the Brahmapuri Tahsil is the Parajāgada hill, the peak of which is called Sātavahini; to the east of the Tahsil is the Sātānāla hill. Then we have the Sātapuḍā hills, which were called the Rkṣavanta Parvata in the Mahā-Bhārata (Vana-Parva. 61. 23-4) and the Vaiḍūrya Parvata in the Purāṇas. In the Nāsik inscription of Balāśrī we find a reference to Setāgiri. Bühler identifies it with Śvetāgiri, a hill on the Caromandel Coast (45. IV. 108). Setāgiri also appears in an inscription on a cistern at Nānā Ghāṭ (22. XV. 313). Bakhle identifies it with

the hill in which the huge staircase of the Nānā Ghāt has been cut (53. II. 351). Setakannika (can it be Satānā in Khandesh ?), Sātāhaniratṭha, Sāntanūru and Sattanapalli have already been referred to herein under Place Names. With regard to the reference in the Vinaya Texts to the town Setakannika, V. R. Ramchandra Dikshitar has stated that it points out that the early home of the Āndhra dynasty lay somewhere in the Northern Dekhan and Central India (18. VIII. 113). Fanciful suggestions may be based on the strength of this chain, and the chain may be considered to be weak ; but the fact remains that it connects the Home of the Sātavāhanas in the Āndhra Valley in the Poona District with Magadha, on the one hand, where the Sātavāhanas attained the height of their glory and with the Bellāry and the Kṛṣṇā-Godāvarī regions, on the other, where also they prospered and finally dwindled and gave place to the Ikṣvākus.

In Pratiṣṭhāna-Pura-Kalpa of Jinaprabhasūri appears another legendary account. Two Brāhman brothers, along with their young widowed sister came to Pratiṣṭhāna and lived on alms. The widow once went to the Nāga-Doha on the Godāvarī to fetch water and was seen by Śeṣa Nāga, the king of serpents. Assuming human form he made love to her. Promising her instantaneous help at remembrance he disappeared. A few months thereafter the brothers seeing her condition abandoned her. In good time she gave birth to a son. In playtime the boy would assume kingship and to his playmates would give artificial earthen elephants, horses and chariots. These were prepared by his adoptive father, an old local potter, who had given shelter to his ostracised mother. Because he used to give them these vehicles - Vāhanas - the boy was called Sātavāhana. When Vikrama invaded Pratiṣṭhāna the young boy assumed leadership of the peoples and kingdom of the Deccan. At the instance of his mother the Nāga king breathed life into the artificial vehicles and earthen soldiers which were the playthings of the boy and the armies of Pratiṣṭhāna defeated Vikrama. A similar story with a little difference in details is given in Dvā-Trīṃśat-Putalikā. Vikrama of Ujjain was to meet his death at the hands

of a boy born of a maiden, two and a half years old. Vikrama, frightened by evil omens sent Vetāla to look out for the fateful boy. Vetāla found the child at Pratiṣṭhāna, playing with his little mother. To kill him Vikrama invaded Pratiṣṭhāna. The Nāga king Śeṣa breathed life into the earthen soldiers which were the playthings of the child and this army defeated Vikrama. In desperation Vikrama drew his sword and attacked Śālivāhana. In the duel that ensued the latter smote his enemy with a wooden mace and wounded Vikrama, who ran back to Ujjain, where shortly thereafter he died. This tale has been interpreted by Bose to mean, that the young mother was the recently established royalty of Pratiṣṭhāna, founded by Brāhmaṇas, and that Śālivāhana defeated Vikrama with the help of the Nāgas (54. 1939. 84).

(3) *Theories of European Scholars* :—

Captain Wilford was the first foreign scholar to tackle the problem. According to him the father and mother of Śālivāhana belonged to a tribe of serpents known as Tachshcas, who could assume human or serpent form at will; the mother conceived at the age of one, the great serpent king gently gliding over her when she was asleep in her cradle. To him the word Śālivāhana appears to be Persian or Arabic in origin. He derived it from Śāli - Shorea Robusta tree, and Vāhana, a vehicle: one who was borne upon a cross of wood. According to his interpretation, Śālivāhana's father Tacshaca was the chief of a tribe of serpents, who were expert carpenters. He identifies Śālivāhana with Christ, who was the son of a carpenter and chronologically his contemporary (55. x.). This theory has not been followed up by, carrying it to its sequence: that of identifying the Ujjain symbol with the Christian cross. This would however have been open to the objection that in the age of the Sātavāhanas the Cross had not yet become the symbol of Christianity.

Rapson, Smith, Barnett and Pryzluski are some of the modern notable scholars who have tried their knowledge and imagination at the present problem. Rapson believed Sātavāhana to be the name of a clan (44. xv) and Sātakarni to be a dynastic name (44. v). Neither he nor Smith have tried to interpret these terms. According to Smith the Āndhra kings claimed to belong to the Sātavāhana family and many of them assumed

the title or bore the name of Satakarni (56. 219). Pryzluski seeks to interpret these terms in the light of Muṇḍa vocabulary (57. 1929). The Muṇḍa words Sādani, Sadāni and Sādāni (Sādam, Sādām and Sādām) mean a horse, while Hana and Hapan mean a son. Sātavāhana, the Sanskritised form of Sādahana or Sādahapana, therefore means "the son of a horse". According to the Aśvamedha ritual, the sacrificial horse, after his return from the expedition of conquest, has to lie for a time, in the sacrificial hall and under a cloak, with the chief queen, which performance is called Mithuna-coitus, when obscene songs describing the intercourse of the horse with the queen were sung in the pandal. Sātavāhana is the son born of this magical union. He derives the word Satakarni from Sādām and Kona, the latter word also meaning 'son'. Modern scholars would have us believe that the Muṇḍas were the original residents of India and that their language and customs have largely influenced the so-called Āryan civilization. They believe that the Āryan Aśvamedha was but a civilized form of Muṇḍa human sacrifice. The Sātavāhanas have used the Mahārāṣṭri form of Prākṛit in their inscriptions and they show no Muṇḍa affinities. It would be unsafe therefore to seek to interpret these terms with reference to the language of the Muṇḍas; nor do we know that the words on which this derivation is based obtained in their present form before over two thousand years. As is evidenced by the Nānā Ghāt inscription the Sātavāhanas revived in the south the almost extinct sacrificial institutions of the victorious Āryans; the inscription also gives a list of the several sacrifices that were performed. The Aśvamedha was the most cherished of these sacrifices. It was a symbolisation of the Sun and was performed in honour of the Sun, at a time when kingship had a solar aspect (58. 30). Unable to bear the blazing splendour of the Sun, his bride, Samjñā, left him and ran away to the Uttarakuru province. To avoid recognition she assumed the form of a mare. Seeing this the Sun assumed the form of a horse (59) and pursued her. The horse thus symbolised the Sun. The slaughtered horse is the Sun-God of the dead year (60. 99). The main purpose of the horse sacrifice was to promote fertility (61. II. 21) and the Mithuna ritual was symbolical of the planting of the seed. According to Mahidhara the Mithuna

ritual was common to the *Āśva* and the *Rājasūya* sacrifices. This derivation would therefore make every prince, whose father had performed either of these sacrifices, a *Sātavāhana*. Simuka, the founder of the fortunes of the family, is himself called a *Sātavāhana*. We have no knowledge of his father or any of his ancestors having performed the *Āśvamedha* or the *Rājasūya*. Nor could any of them have performed either of these sacrifices, because they were and could be performed only on the attainment of the high political status of paramountcy (62. XIII. 2. 2. 1) or in commemoration of a victory over a former overlord (28. 219) leading to the establishment of an independent political power. The *Nānā Ghāt* inscription is the first record about the sacrifices including *Āśvamedha* and *Rājasūya* performed either by *Sātakarṇi* or by his queen. It would appear therefore that the names *Sātavāhana* and *Sātakarṇi* obtained in the dynasty before any major sacrifice was performed by a member thereof.

* Barnett identifies the *Sātakarṇis* with the *Sātiyaputas* (63. 599) probably because he wants to make use of another archaic language. He has (43. IX. 327) recently discussed the present topic. He does not accept Pryzluski's theory, though he accepts his proposition, that the words *Vāhana* and *Karṇi* are synonymous, both meaning a son. He takes *Sāta* to be a proper noun and *Sātavāhana* to mean the descendants of *Sāta*. According to the rules of old Canarese, when the second word in a compound begins with Pa, Ba or Ma the letter is changed to Va. *Sāta* + *Magana* (son) = *Sātavagana*, of which the Sanskritised form is *Sātavāhana*, meaning a descendant of *Sāta*; and it was the non-Sanskritised form that gave the province the name *Sātavaghani*. He says *Kannā* or *Kaṇṇā* are *Prākṛit* words, derived from *Kanyā*, in *Sanskṛit*, of which there must be a masculine form, *Kanya* in *Sanskṛit* and *Kanna* in *Prākṛit*. Assuming this, he argues, the original of *Karṇi* must be *Kanya*, meaning a boy, *Sātakarṇi* meaning a son of *Sāta* or a boy born in the *Sāta* family. He points out that the *Telugu* word *Kanna* denotes a boy as well as a girl and argues that *Sātakanya* must be taken as a patronymic of the *Sātavāhanas*. His arguments are based on the assumption that the *Sātavāhanas* were *Dravidians*, for which he seeks support from the *Purāṇas* and from *Sukthankar's* theory regarding the Home of the *Āndhras*.

(4) *Theories of Indian Scholars :*

The Śilappadikāram Purāṇa in Tāmil is a story of the adventures of the Cera hero Seṅguttuvan (140-192 A. D.). He has the habit of going to the Himālayas to bring stones to carve images. His title Imayavaramban means one, the territorial limits of whose empire extend to the Himālayas (83. 19). First time he went there he is alleged to have defeated, on the banks of the Ganges, the united armies of a thousand Āryan kings of the north. Second time he went north to bring a stone to carve the image of Paṭṭiṇi Devī whose worship had recently commenced in his kingdom. Her innocent husband was accused of and convicted for the theft of royal jewels and was killed under the orders of the Pāṇḍya king. Later, she proved his innocence and cursed the Pāṇḍyas, at which their capital Madurā was reduced to ashes. She then came to Cera territory and ascended to the heavens. The people came to regard and worship her as the goddess of purity and thus commenced the Paṭṭiṇi cult, worship of the chaste wife. The Cera king decided to build a temple in her honour. When he set out for his second invasion of the north and was in the vicinity of the Nilgiris, he was given to understand that the Nūṛruvar Kannar kings were anxious to co-operate with him. The Cera wanted ships to cross the Ganges and the Kannara kings had a plentiful supply of these. He accepted their offer and with their help crossed the Ganges. He defeated the armies of the north, collected under the leadership of Kanaka and Vijaya and imprisoned them. The sacred stone, secured from the Himālayas, was loaded on the heads of the captive kings and was brought south. At the time of the consecration of the image the king of Mālawā was present. On the basis of the presence of Gajabāhu I, of Ceylon, at the consecration, Dikshitar places the ceremony in 171 A. D. (33. 14). Coomarswamy identifies the Nūṛruvar kings with the Sātavāhanas. They are not mentioned as being present at the consecration ceremony; but the king of Mālawā, argues Aravamuthan (64), who was present at the ceremony must be one of the Kannara kings. He bases his argument on the presence of a temple of Paṭṭiṇi Devī in Mālwā, which is definitely a south Indian institution; and on Sukathanakar's placement of the Sātavāhanas in the Bellāry

region. According to him Vahin and Karni are synonymous and mean an oar, on the authority of a passage in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (ch. 54. 5). *Sātakarni* would therefore mean one who has a hundred ships or hundred coxswains. Ship coins of the *Āndhras* are obtained only in the *Tāmil* land and this must have been, according to him, their family emblem. It will be remembered that the ship is an exceptional and not a common symbol on the *Sātavāhanas*; and that it appears on their coins only at a late stage in their history. He also identifies the *Nurruvar* Kannar kings with the *Sātavāhanas* on the basis of their meaning in *Tāmil* (*Nurru* = Seven + *Karni* = *Karna* = Oars). In connection with this classical legend *Dikshitar* says that the *Nurruvar* Kannar *Sātakarni* must have been an imperial monarch ruling from the *Magadhan* capital, on the *Ganges*, otherwise he could not have helped *Seṅguttuvan* in fording the distant *Ganges*, (18. VIII. 113). The *Ceras* may have been great kings but their rule was merely local. Their history is the tale of their petty conflicts with their immediate neighbours, the *Pāṇdyas* and the *Colas*. It is not likely that a king of such a dynasty could carry his victorious arms right up to the *Himālayas*. The motive of his trans-*Gangetic* invasions makes his exploits look ridiculous. *A.S.P. Ayyar* says that the story smacks of the smouldering antagonism between the *Āryans* of the north and the *Dravidians* of the south, of the imaginary revenge wreaked upon the *Aryans* by the *Tāmils* merely on account of the contemptuous words used by a northern *Āryan* prince regarding the *Tāmils* (65. vii). *Dikshitar* ascribes the *Purāṇa* to the pre-*Pallava* period, i.e. before the commencement of the 3rd century A. D. (33. 10); but it appears to be a more modern creation. The identification of the *Nilgiri* mountains referred to in the *Purāṇa* with the mountains now known as the *Nilgiris* has been questioned long ago. *Kanakasabhai* identifies them with the rocky hill about 16 to 18 miles from the shore of the *Bay of Bengal* at *Balasore* in the *Orissa* district which was known to the old navigators as the *Nilagiri* mountains (66. 95). South Indian poets have invented another legend, ascribing the creation of *Cola*, *Cera* and *Pāṇḍya* kings to *Śiva*, so that they may form a confederacy to uproot the wicked *Sātavāhana*, which they eventually did, at *Trichonopally*, where a *Cola* king is said to

have killed him (57. X. 39). However that may be, the Sātavāhanas deserve to be congratulated for having secured a trans-Gangetic transport contract either near Bellāry or in Orissa.

Rajawade, the great Marāṭhā scholar, firmly believed that all the ancient dynasties that ruled over Mahārāṣṭra – the Āndhras, Cālukyas, Rāṣṭrakuṭa and Yādavas were foreigners to this land (26. 180). According to him the Sātavāhanas were Śūdras by caste and Āndhras by birth. With this presumption he has developed a very interesting derivation of the terms in issue. He says (26. 93): in the inscriptions, Purāṇas and Sanskrit literature, the Sātavāhanas were also called Śālivāhanas, Śāta-vāhanas and Śākavāhanas. In times of Pāṇini the word Śāli-vāhana meant a cart for loading Śāli rice; the Śālivāhanas therefore meant a tribe or a family having for its emblem or Devaka a cart of Śāli rice (26. 175). They took this emblem, because in the Āndhra country, which was their mother-land, Śāli rice was the staple crop and chief article of food. According to him, Śākavāhanas meant a cart loaded with vegetables, rice-eaters having a particular liking for Alū (Arum campanulatum) vegetable. He considers it very natural therefore that a dynasty of the Āndhra caste should bear this name. Regarding the reading Śātavāhana he says: Śāta means hot and Vāhana means vehicle, either bullocks or horses; the Śātavāhanas were therefore people who had hot or speedy horses or bullocks. It is likely, he argues, that these kings were originally agriculturists or potters, doing a business in transport, with their bullock carts (26. 177). His derivation of Sātakarṇi is in the same strain; Śātāḥ Karṇāḥ Yeṣāṃ Te Śātakarṇāḥ: people having bullocks with ears cut for identification were Śātakarṇas and their sons were Śātakarṇis. Pāṇini gives certain compounds ending in Karṇi. The word Aṣṭakarṇi occurring in the Rg-Veda (X. 62. 7) with reference to cows has been explained as cows marked with the figure of eight, may be in eight lines or two crosses, probably indicating their owners. Like a grammarian Rajwade argues that the original of Śātavāhana ought to be Śātakarṇavāhana and with Madhyama-pada-lopa the compound Śātavāhana is likely to have been formed. He has also given another derivation of the word Sātavāhana. The original Śakravāhana

was changed to Sakkavāhana - Sākavāhana, which, on account of ignorance, was Sanskritised to Śākavāhana. Fortunately, this curry and rice theory has been still-born and need not therefore be discussed any further to warrant its refutation.

(5) *Minor Interpretations* .

I will now enumerate in brief the results of research by other scholars. Barnett takes the Sātavāhanas to be the descendants of a person named Sāta (43. 327) ; he has also stated that they were so called because they had for emblem the Sāta (55. 592) ; he does not say anything about the emblem itself. Taking Vāhana and Karni as synonymous and meaning an elephant, Kanakasabhai interprets the terms as meaning a person having a hundred elephants. According to him Nūrṣuvar Kannar, meaning a hundred Karpas, was a translation of the Sanskrit title Śata-karṇin, misread by Sanskrit scholars as Śātakarṇin, meant a king having a hundred ears, one who employed a hundred spies or one who had a hundred sources of information (66. 7). Gopalachari derives the word Sāta from San, to acquire: Sātavāhanas meaning a dynasty that acquired a Vāhana or high status in the Mauryan age (29. 31). Svāti occurs in the composition of some of the kings of this dynasty. Smith takes Svāti to be a corruption of Sāta. According to Jayaswal Sāta and Sāti could be derived from Svāti, meaning the sword (27. 168) ; Sātavāhana and Sātakarni would therefore respectively mean the bearer of the sword and the sword of the Sātas. Sātakarni has been interpreted as a ruler of a hundred mountains or caves (67), Karni meaning a mountain or a cave; one having a hundred deeds to his credit, Karni meaning a deed; the arrow of the Sātas, Karni meaning an arrow (68); the son of Śatakarṇa (1. II. 552); a person having handsome ears (53. 1939. 22); a descendant of the sage Śātakarni (53. 1939. 22), mentioned in the Raghuvamśa (XII. 38-40). A commentator of the Raghuvamśa itself interprets the word Śātakarni as meaning a person who sought the pleasures of the ear: (from sāta=pleasure seeker and karṇim=ear). Karṇa was the son of the Sun, born of Kuntī, when she was yet a maiden. Kārinah means the son of an unmarried woman (69. 2. 129). According to one tradition Śalivāhana was

the illegitimate son of Śeṣa and born of a maiden. The word Sātavāhana is actually used to denote Jāraja Samtati-illegitimate progeny (70. 78).

III A NEW INTERPRETATION

(1) *Introductory*

I propose to derive the word Sātavāhana from Saptavāhana, meaning the Sun. I am inclined to connect it with the Sun, with the solar stock and not yet with the solar line. I propose to identify the Ujjain symbol as a solar symbol, which I believe was adopted and continued by the Sātavāhanas on their coins to signify their stock, and as their family emblem. Sāta being the recognised abbreviation of Sātavāhana, Sātakarṇi means the seven-rayed one: the Sun, or the ray or arrow of the Sun and its variant Sātakarṇika, the lotus of the solar stock.

Many other names ending in Vāhana are obtained in ancient history and literature. Meghavāhana and Jimūtavāhana stand for Indra; Hotravāhana and Havyavāhana signify Agni; Vṛṣavāhana means Śiva; Mahisavāhana denotes Yama; Babhruvāhana and Śvetavāhana would refer to persons having brown and white steeds for their vehicles. It must be admitted here that there are several names ending in Vāhana which I am unable to refer either to deities or their vehicles.

It is not as if it is only in India that ruling families claimed descent from or connection of some sort with the Sun. Wherever it is possible to examine the ruling classes of ancient civilisations it is found that they were what are termed gods, that they were supposed to have the attributes of gods and that they usually called themselves the Children of the Sun; this is the case in India, Egypt, Sumeria, Indonesia, America and many other countries; that is from one end of the region to the other (71. 141). Indian traditional genealogies connect all Kṣatriya families with Vivasvān, the son of the Sun. His eldest son, Ikṣvāku, was the founder of the solar dynasties. The name appears in the Rg-Veda (X. 60. 4) and also in the Atharva-Veda (XIV. 39. 9). In the epic literature of India the Children of the Sun were usually born through a process of theogamy, a noteworthy example being that of Kuntī, who by the Sun became

the mother of Karna. This form of maiden birth by the action of the Sun is commonplace in the stories of heroes in ancient India (72. 147-149). It will be remembered that a legend attributes the birth of Śalivāhana to a similar process; and that the names of many of the kings in the Sātavāhana dynasty end in Karna.

(2) *The Sun in Vedic and Epic Literature*

Solar worship has been described as the real religion of India, the essentials of his worship being present everywhere and in all sects, more or less avowedly or in disguise (72. XII. 83), and combined with other cults. Sūrya, Indra and Agni were the three principal Vedic Gods. The most sacred hymn of the Rg-Veda is the Gāyatrī Mantra, which is an invocation to the Sun-God. The Rg-Veda contains several Sūktas dedicated to the Sun under his several nomenclatures. The Sun rides a chariot, drawn by seven horses (74 : 5-49-5; 7-60-3), or a horse with seven heads and hence he is called Sapta-Sapti, Sapta-Aśva-Vāhana, Sapta-Vāhana (75 : I. 110. 1; II. 13. 7). The seven horses are supposed to be symbolical of the seven colours, that make light, or of the seven days that make the week. His chariot is described as having seven wheels (74. III. iii. 8) and also as having one wheel. The Mathurā Museum has an idol of the sun with a chariot drawn by seven horses and another where the chariot is drawn by four horses. The four horses are supposed to represent the four Vedas. Such representations are obtained at Bhāje (76. 60), Amarāvati, (77), Konāraka and Buddha-Gayā. The Sun is said to be a lover of flowers, in particular, of the lotus (75. XXXI. V. 164-165). Lotus, as a symbol of the Sun was independently adopted by the Indians and the Egyptians, probably because the lotus responds to the rays of the sun. Most of the idols of the sun show lotus flowers in two of his hands. While worshipping the sun the mind is to be concentrated on the heart of the lotus, called the Karnikā (75. 49, 5, 22). The Karnikā flowers themselves are very dear to the Sun (75. 164. 80; 115. 24). After the churning of the ocean, when the Sun was drinking nectar, a few drops fell from his lips and from them were born Śali rice and Ikṣu : Sugar-cane which are largely used in the worship of the Sun.

Solar and lunar dynasties are terms which were evolved in the post-Sātavāhana age. They represent two successive hordes of Āryans entering India by different routes. In the Rg-Veda (69. 2; 4. 30; 7. 18), though they are not called as such, the dissensions between their fore-runners are referred to at several places. In the Sabhā-Parva of the Mahā-Bhārata these hordes are called Aikṣvāka and Aila. When the Purāṇas were compiled they came to be styled as the solar and lunar dynasties. The term 'solar' is generally confined to the Aikṣvāka dynasty of Ayodhyā. As it has not been applied to the whole solar stock Pargiter has coined the term Mānva (78. 289). The lunar dynasty belongs to the Aila stock and was so called because of its mythical derivation from Soma - the moon. Though traditional accounts connect both the stocks with the common ancestor Manu, son of Vivasvat, the Sun, the proposition that the two races were considered to be distinct can be supported by several authorities; and it may be that the terms included within their fold the Kṣatriya rulers and their Brāhman Purohitas. The sanctity attached to the solar dynasty has always been very high; but their fortunes were low and their empire was restricted to Kosala and Videha. Their more prolific and energetic rivals, the lunar dynasties, spread themselves throughout the rest of northern India and in the Deccan they occupied Vidarbha, Śūrpāraka and Kalinga. The mythical derivation, once invented, caught the imagination of the mediaeval rulers, at whose bidding were prepared by local chroniclers genealogies that would connect them with either of the two dynasties. This practice was evidently not in vogue in the Sātavāhana age. In the absence of tangible and conclusive evidence we will have to depend upon such details as are available, connect them and to deduce therefrom such inferences as they might warrant.

Let us now see whether we can establish any link between the solar stock of the north with the Deccan, especially Mahārāstra.

(3) *The Solar Stock in the Deccan :—*

Daṇḍaka is the first link between the Ikṣvākus and the Deccan. Ikṣvāku had hundred sons. The Purāṇas generally state that half of them became kings in northern India and half

in the Dakṣiṇāpatha. They make a more definite statement about Daṇḍaka, the youngest and vicious son of Ikṣvāku (79. V. 34. 14-16) who was deported south and was given the kingdom of the Dakṣiṇāpatha, which more definitely lay between the Vindhyas and the Nila mountains. In the Bhārgava hermitages he raped his god-sister Arajā (also called Abjā), whereupon her father (Śukrācārya) cursed the king and his kingdom. The curse reduced the kingdom to a dusty waste and hence name Daṇḍakāraṇya. In the Artha-Śāstra, however, this Daṇḍaka is called a Bhoja. The Daṇḍakas as a people and their kingdom are mentioned in the Mahā-Bhārata. Pagiter places this region between Bundelakhanda and the Kṛṣṇā (57. 1894. 242), generally corresponding with the Deccan. Rajavade indentifies Daṇḍaka with Konkaṇa, south of Śūrpāraka, of which he finds trace in Daṇḍā-Rājapuri, a port of Konkaṇa (36. 37). The Mahāvastu (Senart. p. 363) gives Govardhana as the capital of Daṇḍaka. Oppert places Daṇḍakāraṇya between the Godāvari and the Narmadā. Pargiter believes Daṇḍaka to be an eponym invented to reconcile several clashing statements, but he adds, "however that may be, the noteworthy point is that the original sovereignty in that region was attributed to the same stock or race which was dominant in Ayodhyā and Videha" (78. 258).

Māndhātṛ, the son and successor of Yuvanāśva, was a Cakravartin in the solar line. His daughter-in-law was Narmadā. Princess Kāveri, niece of queen Narmadā was turned into a river by the curse of Yuvanāśva; this Kāveri is a tributary of the Narmadā (78. 135). The Nāgas of the Deccan secured the aid of Māndhātṛ, through Narmadā, in their troubles with the Mauneya Gandharvas. Māndhātṛ, crossed the Narmadā and defeated the Gandharvas. His memory is preserved in the holy place of pilgrimage at Omkāra Māndhātā, on the Narmadā. This was an important halting place on the route that connected the north with the south. His younger son, Mucakunda founded the city of Māhiṣmati on the Narmadā. Soon after, owing to civil wars the solar dynasty lost its predominance and the Haihayas, a confederation of the lunar race, became all powerful under the leadership of Kārtavīrya Arjuna. His empire extended from Surāṣṭra to Vārāṇasī and from the Narmadā to the Himālayas. He captured

Māhīsmatī from the Karkotaka Nāgas, and made it his capital. The Bhārgavas who dwelt in the Narmadā valley were harassed and put to flight by the Haihayas. Jamadagni Bhārgava married Renukā, an Iksvāku princess. Thereafter Arjuna captured Ayodhyā and Vārāṇasī; and the solar king Asita alias Bāhu repaired for refuge to the Bhārgava hermitages, in the forests of Dakṣiṇāpatha. According to the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa (XXXVII. 34-35) the Bhārgavas dwelt at Govardhana, in the Godāvari valley. This region has been identified with the tract around Nāsik. Govardhana still subsists as a village near Nāsik. Thereafter the Haihayas insulted Jamadagni and in revenge Paraśurāma killed Arjuna, whose sons, in revenge, murdered Jamadagni. Thereupon Paraśurāma commenced a war of vengeance against the Haihayas. In this war he had the assistance of some of the Kṣatriya dynasties of the north and also of the Nāgas of the south. In this war he is said to have exterminated the Kṣatriya dynasties of northern India. Probably on account of this legend, Paraśurāma appears to have attracted special disfavour at the hands of Jaina authors: The Jaina-Tatva-Ādarśa ridicules the marriage of Jamadagni and Renukā. In Trisasthiśalākāpuruṣacarita (VI. iv) Hemacandra states that Subhūma, the son of Kārtavīrya Arjuna, in revenge of his father's murder, killed Paraśurāma and exterminated the Brāhmaṇas of India twenty-one times. In the Bhārgava hermitages was born Sagara, the son of Bāhu. He received instruction in warfare at the hands of Paraśurāma. He defeated the Haihayas and Aurva-Bhārgava is said to have placed Sagara on the throne at Ayodhyā. After the termination of his venturous undertaking Paraśurāma performed an Aśva-medha and settled down at Paraśurāma-Kṣetra, near Vajreśvari in the Thana District. It is likely that the childhood of Sagara was spent in Śūrpāraka and Aparānta. His queen also belonged to the Deccan, being a princess of Vidarbha.

Some generations after these events there was great trouble, at Ayodhyā, in the reign of Kalmāṣapāda. Under the evil influence of a malevolent spirit the king deceitfully induced his preceptor Vasiṣṭha to partake of human flesh. When Vasiṣṭha became aware of this he cursed the king, whereupon the king degenerated into a cannibal. On account of the curse of a

Brahman lady the king had already become incapable of procreation. In order to preserve the continuity of the dynasty Vasistha begat a son upon his queen Madayanti. The queen's pregnancy continued for twelve long years. At last the tired queen ripped open her belly with a stone - Āsmaka - and hence the boy that was born was called Āsmaka. After Kalmāsapāda, the solar geneologies are considerably involved and two distinct lines are recorded. Pargiter believes that there was a division of the Ikṣvāku kingdom in the two rival lines (73. 274): Sarva-karman in one line was brought up in secret; and Mūlaka, the son of Āsmaka, in the other line, fled to forests for safety. He was called Mūlaka because being the only Kṣatriya saved from the vow of extermination by Paraśurāma, he was the root from which sprang the Kṣatriyas. Mūlaka's great-great-grandson Dillpa Khatvāṅga established himself at Ayodhyā. This interval in the history of the solar dynasty appears to me to be important from the point of the history of the Deccan.

Āsmaka and Mūlaka are often mentioned as provinces of the Deccan. Pāṇini (IV. 2. 98) refers to the Āsmakas as Dākṣiṇātyas. In Buddhist literature the regions are placed in the south. The Sonadanda Jātaka associates Assaka with Avanti. The Paramattha Jotika states that the Godāvari divides Assaka and Mūlaka. Suttanipāta gives Paṭiṭṭhāna as the capital of Mūlaka, but situated in Aḷaka, while the latter is placed near Assaka in the Godāvari valley. Govindasutta and the Cullakaliṅga Jātaka also give Paṭiṭṭhāna as the capital of Assaka. According to the Mahā-Bhārata, Āsmaka founded the town Paudanya which appears to be the same as Potana, Potali, Potanagara and Paṭiṭṭhāna. Artha-Śāstra (II. 115) mentions Āsmaka along with Aparānta. Bhaṭṭasvāmy, the commentator of the Artha-Śāstra makes Āsmaka contiguous to Avanti, identical with Mahārāstra. According to the Garuḍa Purāṇa (142. 32) the Mūlakas were a tribe, its originator being Mūlaka, the son of Āsmaka. A Sātavāhana inscription mentions Assaka as a province of the empire of Sātakarṇi; here Assaka is mentioned along with Asika, Mūlaka and Avanti (2. No. 1123). The Vimānavatthu states that the Kaliṅga king of Dantapura was on inimical terms with the king of Assaka. The Culla-Kaliṅga Jātaka states that Aruṇa,

the king of Assaka, having his capital at Potali, defeated the king of Kalinga, who is called Sampanna Balavāhana - a mighty warrior. The rivalry between Mahā-Megha-Vāhana Khārawela of Kalinga and Satakarni of Pratisthāna is well known. Barua considers the description of the king of Kalinga in the Jātaka to be worthy of Khārawela (37. 213). All these references point to Āsmaka as being situated in northern Mahārāṣṭra and to Paithāna as its capital. Pargiter believes that no connection can be established between Āsmaka and Mūlaka, kings in the solar line of Ayodhyā and the peoples or regions of that name (78. 132). On the other hand, Rangacarya states (80. 190) that the Āsmakas of the Godāvari valley must have had some connection with the Ikṣvākus. Quoting a reference in the Mahābhārata, Ray Chaudhuri (17. 122) states that it points to the Āsmaka and Mūlaka kingdoms as having been established by a member of the Ikṣvāku dynasty. Pradhān (81. 150) observes that "it is almost certain that Sarvakarman, the first son of Kalmāṣapāda, having inherited his father's kingdom of Southern Kosala, the second son Āsmaka migrated and settled on the bank of the Godāvari just a bit south of the kingdom of Southern Kosala. Yuvanāśva, another Solar king is the traditional founder of an ancient town near Devagiri (22. 1853. 375). The adventures and misfortunes of Rāmacandra are traditionally connected with several places in the Deccan. His son Kuśa is said to have founded the town of Kuśavati or Kuśasthali, to the south of the Vindhya and the Revā. The southern extension of the Ikṣvākus is also suggested by the application of the appellation Kosala to the Rāipūr-Bilāsapur region.

I desire to slightly stretch Pargiter's statement and say that though the connection of the Deccan with the solar stock can not be established by any direct evidence, the noteworthy point is that the names of the two ancient provinces of Mahārāṣṭra exactly resemble two names of kings of the solar line and of no other; the two kings lived at a time when political conditions in Ayodhyā were involved and who very probably had to seek shelter and live incognito in the impenetrable forests of the Deccan. In this far off land the solar kings founded a colony of the solar stock. In the Godāvari valley, unrivalled in beauty and

fertility, they laid the foundations of a new Pratiṣṭhāna, that would, and later on did, rival the splendour and power of the northern Pratiṣṭhāna of the lunar race.

(4) *Successors of the Sātavāhanas :—*

Traces of the extension of solar power and tradition in the south are also obtained in the traditions and inscriptions of the dynasties that succeeded the Sātavāhanas. The Ikṣvākus became powerful in the Kṛṣṇā-Guntūr region in the second quarter of the third century, and were the immediate successors of the Sātavāhanas. S. Konow states that the language of their inscriptions at Nāgārjunikondā and Jagayyāpetā suggest that they had migrated to this region from the west (3. XX. 26). Vaśiṣṭhīputra Cāntamūla, the first king in the line, was Brahmanical by faith; he performed Aśvamedha and Vājapeya sacrifices and was a worshipper of Virūpākṣapati Mahāsena, the warrior son of Śiva. It is likely that the southern Ikṣvākus represented a branch of the Ikṣvāku dynasty of Ayodhyā which migrated to the Deccan (82. 65.). Virapurisadatta Ikṣvāku claims in an inscription of his, to belong to the same family as Lord Buddha, who according to tradition, belonged to the Ikṣvāku family of Kosala (83. 10), and the solar race (84. 195). Their next successors were the Śāṅkayanas, who called themselves as being favoured by the feet of Lord Citra-Ratha (Bhagavac-Citra-Ratha-Svāmi Pādānu-dhyātaḥ) (? IX. 51) who has been identified with the Sun (82. 74).

(5) *Metronymics :—*

The metronymics of the Sātavāhanas is yet another link that connects them with the solar stock. Metronymics were used even in Vedic times. Scholars have evolved different theories regarding the origin of this practice. They have been connected with the prevalence of the matriarchal state of ancient non-Aryan society (28. 98). Its origin has been sought in the prevalence of polygamy. The majority of the metronymics may be connected with Gotras. On the authority of the Śrauta-Sūtras (xii-15) Bühler inferred that the metronymics of the Kṣatriyas ought to refer to the Gotras of the Purohitas of the families, as they could be adopted by the Kṣatriyas for sacrificial purposes

(3. I. 394-6). In the historical period the use of metronymics was particularly common in Mālawā, as is evidenced by numerous votive inscriptions (85. 2). In inscriptions they usually appear in conjunction with the personal name; though in some rare instances they occur unaccompanied by the personal name (2. Nos. 680 to 683). Even after marriage women continued to claim their father's Gotra; this is evident from the Poona plates of Prabhāvatī Guptā. The inscription of Vāsiṣṭhiputra Ānanda on the southern gateway of the Sāñci Stūpa refers to King Sātakarṇi. The artist gives his own metronymic but not that of his master. No metronymics are obtained in early Sātavāhana inscriptions, or those of their known relatives. This custom appears to have been adopted by the later Sātavāhanas. Gopalachari believes that this custom was adopted by them after their connections with the Kṣatriya families of Mālawā (29. 47). This is untenable; because the earlier Sātavāhanas had definitely come into contact with Mālawā and had not adopted this custom. Gotamīputra, the 23rd king in the Purāṇic list appears to be the first Sātavāhana to assume a metronymic. The feudatories, relatives and high state dignitaries of the later Sātavāhanas, and their successors too, bear metronymics. The system was adopted by the Mahārathis, the Abhiras, the Cutus, and the Ikṣvākus. It was at one time believed that this custom connects the Sātavāhanas with Āndhra country. Later researches have disproved this and Gopalachari has made a definite statement that this custom does not belong to the Āndhra country (29. 46).

If we accept Jayaswal's theory that the Sātavāhanas were Brāhmins we may assume that the metronymics indicate the Gotras of the exclusive families into which they married (27. 196). If we accept that the Sātavāhanas were Kṣatriyas, the metronymics would refer to the Gotras of their Purohitas. This assumption launches us into several difficulties. Why should there be patronage to different families of Purohitas? Why should there be no metronymics used in the case of those who are known to have performed sacrifices? But these questions would be beyond the scope of the present problem.

The Sātavāhanas have used only three metronymics: Gotama, Vāsiṣṭha and Māthara. Curiously, enough, their relatives and

successors, the Ikṣvākus, have used these and no other metronymics. These metronymics are also found on the Kolhāpur coins. All the three are Vedic Gotras; all the three are connected with the solar stock. Vasistha was the recognised Purohita of the Ikṣvākus of Ayodhyā. From generation to generation different Vasisthas succeeded to this office. According to Purāṇic tradition the Vasisthas were the Purohitas of the solar dynasties only and never of the lunar dynasties (86. II. 41). In the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa the descendants of Vasistha are noted as the descendants of the Sun (75. 139. 54-56). Gotama too is connected with the solar dynasty. In the absence of Vasistha, Śātānanda Gotama was engaged as a Purohita by Mithi Janaka of the Videha solar dynasty, who was keen upon performing a sacrifice rather urgently. This change of Purohitas resulted in a change of the Gotra of the dynasty. The southern bank of the Godāvarī is called the Gautamī Gaṅgā and this nomenclature would indicate a large settlement of the Gautamas to the south of the Godāvarī. A large settlement of the Gotamas has in fact, been traced in Mysore (38. VIII. 3). Māthara, according to the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa (Brahma. ch. 53) was an attendant: Pāripārsvaka - appointed by Indra, for the service of the Sun. In an inscription Māthara is given as the family name of a ruler of Kalinga (3. XII. 1). In Cutu and Kadamba inscriptions we come across another metronymic - the Hāritiputras. The seven horses that drew the Sun's chariot were named Hāritas. Ambarīṣa was the son of the great solar emperor Māndhātṛ. Hārita is the grandson of Ambarīṣa. The Hāritas are also mentioned as a family (28. 407) and the members of this family traced their descent from Hārita (78. 246) of the solar dynasty.

(6) Tradition :—

There is a tradition in northern India that Śātavāhana defeated the Śaka invaders in the battle of Karur, near Multān, with the co-operation of the Bhaṭṭi Rājputs, (87. 385), who claim to belong to the solar stock. For a battle of this type the Lord of the Deccan must have taken with him a host of his local adherents and we may also expect that after the battle was fought and won some of his followers should have settled down

along the track of the army. The Bāis Rājputs of Baiswārā, in southern Oudh, (35. I. 280) Mālawā and Rājaputānā state that their remote ancestors came north from Muṅgi Paṭhaṇ-o- in the train of Śālivāhana and they regard themselves as of the same lineage as Śālivāhana (88. 192). Todd records the tradition that these Rājputs regard themselves as descendants of Śālivāhana and as being Sūrajabansis - belonging to the solar tribe or clan. Deshmukh has collected traditional information about the Marāṭhās and he gives the following details: Śālivāhana, Svātivāhana, Sātava and Sālava are sub surnames under the principal family name Sālave; this family belongs to the Sūrya-Vamśa, Kaundīnya Gotra, with Saṁkara and Pārvatī as the family deities, Savitā as the Devaka and Gāyatrī as the sacred Mantra (89. App. V. 37). The lists of Gotras given in the Gotra-Pravara-Nibandha-Kadambam show that the Kṣatriya founders of Gotras have become Brahmans and vice versa. This process of transformation is found in the epics and also in the Purāṇas. The said lists give Sālahaḷeyah and Saptakarni as Gotra-Rsis, founders of Gotras: but we do not yet know whether the Sātavāhanas ever claimed to belong to any of these Gotras.

(7) *Evidence of the Gāthā Sapta-Śatī* :—

Gāthā Sapta-Śatī, a collection of seven hundred Prākṛit verses, is ascribed to Hāla. The opening verse is dedicatory of Paśupati Śiva, holding in the hollow of his palm a libation of water, to be offered to the rising sun; in the water is reflected the face of his consort Gaurī, red with jealousy, believing that her spouse was thinking of some one dearer to him, the reflection looking like a red lotus flower. The ending verse is similar in import; only the libation is being offered to the setting sun; and Śiva, being distracted by his glance at Gaurī, has forgotten the sacred prayer, and is yet pretending to mutter it with throbbing lips. These verses are ostensibly dedicatory to Śiva; and yet they are definitely indicative of solar worship, as Śiva himself is bowing to the rising and the setting sun and is saying the sacred prayer of Gāyatrī. Besides, Śiva, as a god of fertility, is associated with the Sun (62. 30). In the index of authors of these verses, the opening verse is ascribed to Hāla himself (24. Index, 8). Another

indication of solar worship in the said work¹ is a reference to the banner on the sun's chariot (I. 34).

(8) *The Evidence of Coin Symbols :—*

Let us now see whether we can draw any conclusions regarding the point at issue from a study of the symbols on the coins of the Sātavāhanas and their contemporaries.

(a) *Symbols in General :*

In symbolism it is unnecessary to depict a design in full ; a portion of a design may stand for the whole ; a new and complex design may be developed from a simple original design ; duplication of the design is used only to emphasise the import. Many times we have the symbol but no descriptive authority for the identification of its import. To a later age a symbol may appear to be unnatural or mystical, but its justification is in the appreciation of the meaning it was originally intended to convey. Conventional by its very nature the symbol does not explain itself and may even be used to conceal a dogma ; the representation may be simple or only of a particular characteristic of the whole ; it may be used in different modifications ; but if we find that the main design is adopted in several modifications in different countries and at different times we may hope to arrange the several aspects thereof from one point of view and obtain a correct interpretation. When symbols appear on coins we may assume that they have been deliberately used to indicate a particular meaning ; such symbols may signify the Varnśa ; or the personal, dynastic or national emblem ; or the faith or the outstanding achievement of the king issuing the same.

(b) *Symbols on Ancient Indian Coins :*

Punch-marked coins are the earliest coins of India. According to the Artha-Śāstra, the earliest recognised authority on statecraft, coinage was a royal prerogative, though the Mauryan mints could still be used by corporate bodies. It names (II. 12. p. 84) the mintmaster, the Lakṣana-Adhyakṣa. Jayaswal explains Lakṣana (90. 39) as the permanent heraldic crest of the state, the royal or state mint mark. It appears that though private bodies continued to make their own coins, even these

were in conformity with the state design, as is seen from the small lead coins of Āndhra type of about the second century together with an earthenware die for them, discovered by Longhurst in a cell at Nāgarjunikonda indicating that the monks made their own coins (91. 10). The symbols on the punch-marked coins were at one time regarded as inexplicable or meaningless, or as magical designs ensuring protection from evil forces. These symbols have been recently studied more carefully and many of them have been identified. Similar is the case of the symbols on the die-struck or cast coins. Sanction of the controlling authority has been attributed both to the obverse and reverse marks. Cunningham suggested that the marks on the reverse may stand for the dynasty or the king that issued the coin. He pointed out that the bull on the Kosāmbi coins may represent the Vatsa dynasty and that the Sun symbol on the coins of Sūrya-Mitra and Bhānu-Mitra may represent the kings who issued them (92. 56-58). Jayaswal (7. 1934. 282-288) and Kosāmbi (93. IV. 10) have proved certain of these symbols to be the distinctive marks of the Mauryas. There still is much scope for a study of the symbols on ancient Indian coins and they may be proved to be indicative of the royal authority under whose sanction they were issued.

(c) *Symbols on Sātavāhana Coins:*

Thousands of Sātavāhana coins have so far been gathered and unearthed; hundreds have been stored in Museums awaiting the leisure or pleasure of the officers in charge; hundreds have been recently studied and new specimens are still coming up before us. The largest hoards have been discovered at Jogaltembi, Chanda and Tarhala in Mahārāṣṭra and at Guḍivādā and Nāgarjunikondā in Āndhra.

Of the coins unearthed by Rea at Guḍivādā, he has given details of 72 coins. On their obverse they have Caitya, ship, horse, lion, elephant and other animals. The Ujjain symbol in diverse designs, is the devise most commonly met with on the reverse of these coins. Rapson's Catalogue gives details of 316 Āndhra coins; of them 227 bear the Ujjain symbol; 124 have the Caitya and 132 have the Tree-in-Railing; and of

these 44 have the Ujjain symbol and the Caitya; 52 have the Ujjain symbol and the Tree-in-Railing; 81 have the Tree-in-Railing and Caitya; and only one has all the three devices: 42 of the total number of these coins have an elephant on the obverse. Of the 316 Āndhra coins described by Rapson, the following 73 coins can not be definitely ascribed to the Imperial Sātavāhanas: 1 of Aja (-), 2 of (-) Vira. 24 of Sakasena or Sakasada, 1 of (-gha) sada, 9 of Vāsisthīputra Vīlīvāyakura, 14 of Mādhariputra Sivalakura and 22 of Gautamīputra Vīlīvāyakura. Of these only one coin of Aja (-) bears the Ujjain symbol. The total number also includes 75 unknown or uncertain coins; 24 of such uncertain coins were collected in Mahārāstra and they all bear the Ujjain symbol; of the remaining 51 coins 35 bear the Ujjain symbol. Omitting these 148 (75+73) coins from the total we get 168 Sātavāhana coins. Omitting the 60 uncertain coins from the number of coins bearing the Ujjain symbol we get 167. Thus out of 168 Sātavāhana coins listed in Rapson's Catalogue we have 167 having the Ujjain symbol on their reverse. Smith's Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum gives details of 53 Sātavāhana coins. Of these 41 have the Ujjain symbol, 8 the Caitya, 4 the Tree-in-Railing; 42 have the elephant on the obverse. Any analysis of the symbols would lead to a result similar to the one obtained by the analysis of Rapson's Catalogue. At Tarhala, in the Akola District was recently discovered a hoard of 1600 Sātavāhana coins. In this hoard all the coins that were decipherable or intact had the elephant on their obverse and the Ujjain symbol on their reverse (43. II. 83). Stray coins of this dynasty obtained elsewhere are of the elephant and Ujjain symbol type. The Kolhāpur type of the Āndhra coins, however, have the bow and arrow on their obverse and the Caitya and Tree-in-Railing on their reverse; and none of these coins have either the elephant or the Ujjain symbol. The kings who issued these coins have not yet been satisfactorily proved to belong to the Sātavāhana dynasty. Kolhāpur is the only site where this type of coins has been found. The kings may or may not belong to the main dynasty; if they do, the coins may be of a local type; if they do not, we are not concerned with them; they need not detain us as far as the present topic is concerned. The Sātavāhana coins

obtained in the Chanda district and on the Coromandel coast do not have the Caitya symbol, which had become the common property of all the religions and sects of India (41. 57. 614). The Mahārathi coins do not have either the elephant or the Ujjain symbol or the bow and arrow; they usually employ the Caitya and the Tree-in-Railing. The Cutu coins are generally similar to the Mahārathi coins, with this exception that the Mahārathi coins have a special device which is absent on Cutu coins. This device is also seen on 2 of the 8 coins of Sātakarni and also on the Kolhāpur coins. It also appears on my Sātavāhana coin. This analysis shows that the elephant was the principal obverse symbol and that the Ujjain symbol was the reverse symbol used by the Sātavāhanas on their coins. That the elephant was a recognised symbol of royal authority is an accepted fact. We have to see whether we can identify the Ujjain symbol as a solar symbol.

(d) *The Ujjain Symbol :*

Ujjain symbol is the name given by Cunningham to the device consisting of a cross with balls at the four ends (92. 95) and the designation was given on account of the fact that coins with this symbol obtained chiefly in the vicinity of Ujjain. The symbol also occurs on the coins of Eran and Besanagar, both in modern Malawa. Rapson therefore suggested that it had better be called the Malawa symbol. According to Smith Avanti would be a more appropriate designation. Rapson's designation is likely to lead to a confusion between the coins of Malwa and those of the Malava tribe. It has besides been pointed out that this symbol appears on coins issued beyond the limits of ancient Mālawā, e. g. on the coins of the Hindu Satraps of Mathurā (53. X. 725). Of the coins obtained around Ujjain some have legends and some have the figure of Kārtikeya, the standard-bearer of Mahā-Kāla. Cunningham calls this the Sun standard (92. 97). On some of the coins of Malawa the Ujjain symbol appears on both the sides. On the obverse of some it appears in conjunction with the standard bearer, bull or tree-in-railing (92. Pe X); on the reverse it appears in some variations in the balls and in conjunction with the cross, Svastika or the royal umbrella.

Chakraborty (94. 166) and Kosāmbi (93. V. Nos. 1 and 2), suggest that the umbrella device on the punch-marked coins refers to the Imperial Mauryas. Rapson, pointing out that the Caitya and the tree-in-railing are devices which are found on the coins of admittedly foreign rulers like Agathokles, suggests that there is scope to believe that the Ujjain symbol was the distinctive symbol of the Sātavāhanas and going further he states that coins with the Ujjain symbol obtained in Mālawā must have been coined when Mālawā was under Sātavāhana rule (44. clxviii). These coins would appear to have been coined either by the imperial dynasty or by their provincial governors. On the assumption that the inclusion of the Sātavāhanas in the Purāṇic lists is based on the establishment of their imperial rule in northern India, from Punjab to Bihar and Mysore, I am tempted to include Muladeva, Dhanadeva, Naradatta and Viśākhadatta of Ayodhyā ; Agnimitra and Bahasatimita of Kosāmbi ; Brāhmamitra, Dṛḍhamitra, Sūryamitra and Viṣpumitra of Mathurā amongst the provincial governors or feudatories of the Sātavāhanas, on the basis of the presence of this symbol on their coins. The Sātavāhanas themselves attribute so much importance to this symbol that when Gotamiputra Sātakarni defeated and restruck the coins of Nahapāna he used this device for the restriking (44. 68); that when Yajña Śrī Sātakarni defeated the Kṣatrapas and issued coins of the Ksatrapa type he too employed this symbol (95. 142-3). I am therefore tempted to style this as the Sātavāhana symbol. Pandit Bhagavanlal has already called it the peculiar Sātakarni symbol (95. 42-3).

I am inclined to believe that this symbol indicates the sun and that it was used by the Sātavāhanas to denote their connection with the solar stock or traditions and as their emblem. Just as the Vatsa on the Ayodhyā coins indicates the dynasty, the Yoddhā the Yaudheyas, the peacock the Mauryas, and the Śīśu the Śīśunāgas (93. IV Nos. 1 and 2) I believe that the cross and balls symbol was intentionally used by the Sātavāhanas to denote their family. From the presence of the crescent on the Maurya coins Kosāmbi is inclined to place the dynasty in the lunar stock ; I am inclined to place the Sātavāhanas in the solar stock on the basis of this symbol.

The Ujjain symbol is a combination of the disk or wheel and the cross or the Svastika. In Egyptian symbolism a circle with a dot in it is equivalent to *Ria*, meaning the Sun. In China too, it represents the Sun. The Chinese word for a crystal-Ching-was originally represented by three circles with dots in them, that is three suns, an attempt to figure the refraction and dispersion of light by the crystal (96. Pl VI. No. 75). The Khetan-ideograph for the solar disk is similar. A circle was also the Accadian emblem of the Sun. In Chaldea the Sun is symbolised by a six or eight rayed star or wheel. The weathercock which resembles the Ujjain symbol and surmounted the spires and pinnacles of old churches was originally an emblem of the Sun, (97. 70). In Assyria the upright cross indicated the protective quality of the sun and the diagonal cross the vivifying and light giving rays. A cross with crescents attached to its ends is the symbol of the Babylonian god Anu (98. II. Pl. 48), and it has been identified as a solar symbol. A similar symbol has been noted on an Indian punch marked coin (99, XLV. Pl xxii. No. 34). The Svastika was a recognised emblem of the Sun from very ancient times (100. 46). According to Thomas, it took the place of the sun on Indian coins; he calls it the fourfold sun and believes it to be an abbreviated emblem of the sun, the solar wheel with spokes in it, the tyre and movement being indicated by the crampons (101. 18-48). He believes that the sun type was the earliest among the mint dies and he was inclined to connect these coins with the Indian traditional *Sūrya-Vamśa* (102. 9). A coin, discovered at Mesembria in Thace expresses the name of the town as MEΣϞ, the Svastika representing the latter half of the word. Percy Gardner points out that the Greek name *Μεσημβρία* means the Town of Mid Day and that therefore the Svastika would evidently mean the Day, i. e. the Sun. The Sudarśana wheel is one of the weapons of Viṣṇu. It was fashioned by Viśvakarmā from the parings collected by him when he had placed the Sun on the lathe. The wheel denoted a Cakravarti king, the wheels of whose chariot roll unopposed all over the world. The Cakra symbol which appears as the most conspicuous symbol on the earlier and on

almost all of the later punch-marked coins, was identified by Durga-Prasad (99. XLV. 21) as a variation of the circle with a dot in it, the Tantric Parama-Bija-Mudrā; and he disputed its identification as a solar symbol. In a later article, however, (99. XLVII. 78) he concedes that it may signify the Sun and that it may represent the Śūrya-Vamśa of Magadha. According to Bühler the Dharmacakra was borrowed by the Buddhists and the Jains from the Brāhmins, who mention it as a symbol signifying the undisputed reign of sacred law (103. 221). The adoption of the wheel for worship by Buddhism was suggested to Cunningham by a passage in the Mahāvamśa, wherein Siri Nāga of Ceylon is stated to have inserted gems in the centre of each of the four emblems of the sun on the Mahā-Stūpa (104. 229). Pryzlski has recently discussed the problem of the wheel (105. June 1936). He points out that in the Pali original of the passage in the Mahā-Vamśa (Ch. 36. Verses 5-6) there is no reference to the Sun. However he accepts that there were four entrances to the Stūpa and that they represented the four points of the compass. On the middle drum of the Sāraṇāth Lion Pillar are four wheels, the spaces between them being occupied by an elephant, a bull, a horse and a lion, following each other from right to left in the direction of Pradakṣiṇā. He believes that the four lions were probably surmounted by a wheel, the symbol of Buddhist law, which originally was a solar symbol. He quotes M. Mus (106. 416) who believes the crowning wheel to be the Sun and the four smaller wheels the four orients. The Stūpas at Bhilsa, Barahut, Mathura and Sāñci have four gateways. On each of the gateways of the Sāñci Stūpa appears the wheel symbol, surmounted over four elephants, facing the four directions. All the components of the Ujjain symbol are thus solar symbols; their appropriation by Buddhism and their appearance on coins is therefore a heritage of the solar cult.

More direct evidence in favour of my identification comes from unexpected quarter. There is an inscription on a large rock at the side of an early dagba at Ottapuva, in the North Central Province of Ceylon (107. 447 and 657). At the end of the inscription appear two symbols which have been named therein as symbols of the Nāga Pool represented by a rectangle enclosing

a cross and the Sun represented by a circle resting on a cross respectively. King Sirikana of this inscription has been placed about 30-33 A. D. Parker observes that the cross below the Sun symbolises its protecting rays, the arrowy rays mentioned in the Rg-Veda, which discomfited the demons. On the basis of this almost contemporary evidence and of the axiom that a portion of the design stands for the whole and that a repetition of the design in a pattern signifies only an emphasis of the design, we may well assume that the Ujjain symbol is a solar symbol.

Two attempts to interpret the Ujjain symbol have recently been made. Shivaramamurti (108. 10) says that the four arms of the symbol point to the four directions and the four circles point to the four Kośas - treasures, and that the symbol therefore indicates that the ruler enjoys the four Mandala. According to Dixit (109. 217) the cross symbolises the unification of the male and female principles of nature and the balls standing for the female principle, may indicate the predominance of the Mother Goddess. Neither of these interpretations is supported by any corroborative or contemporary evidence and their acceptance or rejection would therefore depend upon individual inclinations.

There is a process of evolution behind the Ujjain symbol. The Cakra and Svastika were the principal marks on the then current punch-marked coins. The Mauryas evolved the Śadara-cakra, on the pattern of the earlier six-armed symbol (110. Pl. I); three of the arms having circles or crescents were replaced by arrows and three by the Pāli letter M, either by itself or in a circle. The symbol with a disk at the centre and four crescents attached to it (99. XLVI. Pl. I. No 5) was common on the early punch-marked coins. Smith, in his Catalogue (p. 157) describes it as solar symbol composed of crescents applied to a central boss. The Ottāpuvā Sun symbol too must have been in prevalence then. The Sātavāhanas would appear to have evolved the Ujjain symbol on the pattern furnished by these coins and symbols. As shown in Rapson's Catalogue, their mintmasters evolved several patterns of the symbol based on the original design.

If the Ujjain symbol was a solar Sātavāhana symbol, what was the distinctive symbol that was used by their enemies? We have almost no information about the Indo-Scythians that were routed by

them. Their earliest contestant for imperial power was Mahā-Megha-Vāhana Khāravela and unfortunately we have had no coins of this mighty monarch. Khāravela's Biruda however refers to Indra and in this we may have our clue. Their next great enemies were the Kṣaharāta Kṣatrapas. The distinctive symbol found on the coins of Nahapāna is the Vajra symbol. According to Smith (56. 217) the arrow and the thunderbolt appearing on the coins of Nahapāna connect him with the Pārthians and the northern Satraps. The thunderbolt also obtains on the coins of Bhūmaka (441. No. 237). The Vajra was the distinctive and supreme weapon of Indra who is therefore called Vajradhara. Can the adoption of this symbol be a continuation in historical times of the Vedic Sūrya-Indra conflict?

(9) *Mahā-Megha-Vāhana Khāravela :*

Khāravela, admittedly a contemporary of the early Satavāhanas, calls himself a Mahā-Megha-Vāhana in his Hāthi-Gumpha inscription. The generally accepted reading of the reference is as follows:—

Aireṇa Mahārājena Mahā-Megha-Vāhanena Ceta Rājavarṇsa Vadhanena Kalingādhipatinā Siri Khāravelena.

In the Pātālapuri cave of the Mañcapuri group there is an inscription of Kadamba (Kadamba) of the same dynasty and the reference reads as follows:—

Airasa Mahārājasa Kali (gā) dhipatinā Mahā (Megha) Vāha (nasa) Kadepa Sirino lena.

The word Aira has been interpreted by Senart as Āryeṇa—meaning noble. Jayaswal's interpretation is similar and he says that it was used to distinguish between the ruler who was an Ārya and his subjects who were Dravidians (7. III. 434). According to Barua (37) Ayira was a Biruda, a royal title, meaning Svāmi—master. He says that it was used to distinguish between the king who was the master and others who were liable to subjection. He has translated the word as "His Lordly Majesty" or "His Heroic (with the reading Verena—Virena) Majesty". Sarkar, in his notes on the inscription (28. 211) says that he is tempted to connect the word with Ailena. Barua is not prepared to accept the suggested meaning (37. 40). I am

inclined to accept Sarkar's suggestion. Jayaswal takes Aira to be the family name of the king, on the basis of a manuscript discovered by him in the Indian Museum of Calcutta, wherein the king of Utkala is called Aira (7. 1917. 482). In the *Vessantara Jātaka* (v. 514) the kings of Kalinga are said to have belonged to the Ceta dynasty. Pandit Jayacandra Vidyalamkara (32. 11. 716), Ray Chaudhuri (14. 347), Sten Konow (111. 38) and Jayaswal connect the Ceta in the inscription with the Cedi dynasty. This dynasty is one of the important sub-divisions of the lunar line (11. 3. 212). This is supported by a reference in the *Milindapanho*. Pargiter has included Kalinga in the lunar dominions (78. 294). Under these authorities we may safely connect Khārawela's family with the lunar stock and interpret Airena as Ailena: also on the basis of there being no difference between Ra and La in Prākṛit.

Mahā-Megha-Vāhana can not therefore be the dynastic or family name of Khārawela and would therefore appear to be only a Biruda. We have no information about the ancestors of Khārawela and we do not know whether they called themselves Mahā-Megha-Vāhanas. On the evidence available so far Kharwela appears to be the first illustrious prince in the line and it also appears to be likely that he was the first to use this Biruda. It may be that he selected this title on purpose, to arrogate to himself a status equal to that of the imperial Sātavāhanas and it is likely that he assumed this title when he crossed swords with the Sātavāhanas and was thwarted by them in his proposed Dig-Vijaya.

Mahā-Megha-Vāhana has been interpreted to mean a person who has a great elephant (37. 40) named Mahā-Megha-like a great cloud-as his vehicle; one who rivals Indra, the king of the gods, who himself has the cloud as his vehicle, Megha-vāhana being an accepted synonym of Indra; and hence, greater than Indra. Indra is the Guardian of the East according to the Jainas, as Sun is the Guardian of the West according to the Yajurveda (1. 8. 6.). The kingdom of Khārawela was situated in the east. The Mahendra mountain which is often mentioned in ancient literature has been identified and placed in Kalinga

(38. VIII. 3) Indra was also a rival of the Sūn. He is alleged to have broken the wheel of the chariot of the Sun ; nay, he has been called the creator of the Sun. Khāravela was admittedly a rival of Sātakarṇi who had Sātavāhana as family name ; and Khāravela, being anxious to coin as high sounding a word, appears to have hit upon the title which he assumed ; and he could do this, even in keeping with Jainism, which recognises Indra.

IV SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS :--

Sātavāhana was the family name of the Āndhra dynasty. It was also a personal name of princes therein. The family name may have been derived from the personal name of an ancestor of Simuka. This name does not occur in any other family. It does not appear in the recognised Purāṇas. In mediaeval times it assumed several forms, but the skeleton remained recognizable. Jaina authors have always used it to signify Hāla. The Sātavāhanas have named places and provinces after themselves and they may indicate the route of their expansion and migration. Sātavāhana worship prevails in the Tāmil land and in Punjab. This is in the nature of hero worship. The earliest dated reference to the Śālivāhana era is in 488 A. D.

Sātakarṇi is a personal name borne by many princes in the Imperial dynasty. It was never the family name of the dynasty. It was also borne by contemporary princes and even by commoners. In the Purāṇas the name has assumed several fanciful forms. Just as the term Sātavāhana does not appear in the Purāṇas, the term Sātakarṇi is absent in tradition and in mediaeval literature.

Sāta is a recognised abbreviation of Sātavāhana. The abbreviation itself has assumed several forms.

The legendary interpretation of the term Sātavāhana connects the founder of the dynasty with Yakṣa Sāta, who, in the form of a lion, was the vehicle of a child that was later adopted by a king. Yakṣa Sāta was the tutelary deity of Rājagṛha. Legend also ascribes the birth of prince Sātavāhana to a process of theogamy or maiden-birth.

Wilford interprets the word *Sātavāhana* to mean "one borne upon a cross of wood" and identifies him with his contemporary - Christ. Pryzluski takes *Sātavāhana* and *Sātakarṇi* as synonymous. Upon philological and ritualistic considerations he interprets the words to mean a person, born of the magical union of the sacrificial *Āsvamedha* horse with the queen. He bases his conclusion upon *Muṇḍa* vocabulary. The name however occurs before any *Āsvamedha* was or could be performed by the members of the dynasty. Barnett also takes the words as synonymous and upon similar grounds interprets the words to mean a descendant of *Sāta*.

Coomārswāmy and Kanakasabhai identify the *Sātavāhanas* with the *Nurruvar Kaunar* kings of the *Siḷappadikaram Purāṇa* and the latter interprets it as a king having a hundred elephants and *Sātakarṇi* as a king having a hundred spies. Gopalachari interprets *Sātavāhana* as meaning a dynasty that acquired a high status. Rajawade interprets *Sātakarṇi* as a person having bullocks with marked ears and *Sātavāhana* as a person having a cart of rice and vegetables as his emblem or having speedy bullocks as his vehicle.

I propose to derive *Sātavāhana* from *Sapta-Vāhana*, meaning the Sun; and on the basis of *Sāta*, as an abbreviation of *Sātavāhana*, I propose to interpret *Sātakarṇi* to mean the Sun, the Seven Rayed One; or a ray of or an arrow of the Sun.

In Vedic literature the Sun is called *Saptavāhana*, and is described as riding a chariot drawn by seven horses. Several images answering to this description have been obtained.

The *Āsvamedha* was a solar sacrifice. It was an institution of the Vedic *Āryans*. On account of the rise of Buddhism it had become almost extinct. It was revived in the South by the *Sātavāhanas*.

In epics and in legends all over the world, the Children of the Sun are born through a process of theogamy or maiden-birth. The legendary *Sātavāhana* was born through a similar process.

There are several links that connect the Deccan with the solar line of *Ikṣvākus*. *Dandakāranya* is named after *Dandaka*,

an Ikṣvāku prince. The Sātavāhanas were 'rulers of Dakṣiṇā-patha, which is identical with Daṇḍakāraṇya. The Nāgas were the allies of Māndhātṛ, an Ikṣvāku prince; they were also the allies of the Sātavāhanas. Āsmaka and Mūlaka, princes of the Ikṣvāku line lived in and gave their names to two regions in northern Mahārāṣṭra. The centre of Sātavāhana power was situated in these regions. Their capital Pratisthāna, was also the capital of Āsmaka. The rivalry between Āsmaka and Kaliṅga is a feature of the pre-Sātavāhana epoch. It continued during the time of Sātākarni and Khāravela. The Bhārgavas, the supporters of the Ikṣvākus in exile, were residents of Govardhana, which was one of the centres of Sātavāhana power. The successors of the Sātavāhanas were princes of the solar stock and worshippers of the Sun. The metronymics of the Sātavāhanas indicate that they were connected either by relationship or by discipleship with solar families of rulers and priests. Rājputs claiming descent from Śālivāhana regard themselves as Sūrya-Vamśis. In the Gāthā-Sapta-Śatī there is evidence of solar worship.

The Ujjain symbol is the distinctive emblem on the coins of the Sātavāhanas. It is a solar symbol.

The enemies of the Sātavāhanas wear emblems of Indra: and these would appear to have been adopted by them on the basis of the rivalry between Sūrya and Indra.

Mahā-Megha-Vāhana, the Biruda of Khāravela indicates, Indra.

Thus region and religion, allies and rivals, capital and emblem, predecessors and successors, legendary origin and descendants, relatives and preceptors, all point to the Sātavāhanas as belonging to the solar stock. We may therefore safely interpret Sātavāhana as Sapta-Vāhana, meaning the Sun and Sātākarni as meaning the Sun—The Seven Rayed One—or an arrow or a ray of the Sun.

REFERENCES

- 1 Indian Culture.
- 2 Luders' List: Appendix to E. I.: X.
- 3 Epigraphia Indica.
- 4 Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute.
- 5 Journal of the Numismatic Society.
- 6 The Parthian Coinage.
- 7 Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
- 8 अविनाशितमश्रममकरोत् सातवाहनः । विशुद्धजातिभिः कोषः रत्नैरिष-
सुभाषितैः ॥
- 9 जगत्यां ग्रथिता गाथा सातवाहनभूभुजा । व्यधुर्धुतेस्तु विस्तारमहो-
चित्रपरंपरा ॥
- 10 Dr. Peterson's Third Report.
- 11 सातेन यस्माद्वृद्धोऽभूत्तस्मात्तम् सातवाहनः । नाम्ना चकार कालेन राज्ये-
चैनं न्यवेशयत् ॥
- 12 श्री सातवाहनाख्यो धूप इदम् तीर्थसुदधार पुनः । श्री पादलिप्तसूरि ध्वज-
प्रतिष्ठाम् व्यधात् तत्र ॥
- 13 श्रूयते हि कुन्तलेषु सातवाहनो नाम राजा तेन प्राकृतभाषात्मकमन्तःपुरमेवेति ॥
- 14 Political History of Ancient India.
- 15 हालस्यात्सातवाहनः ॥
- 16 V. 712. हलत्पराति हृदयं हालः ज्वलादिःवाणः । सातं दत्तसुखम् वाहनमस्य
सातवाहनः । सालवाहनोऽपि ।
- 17 शालो हाले मत्स्यभेदे । हालः सातवाहनपार्थिवे ॥ शलति श्यालः । श्याति वा ।
श्यामाश्या इति लः । हालः सातवाहननृपः । तत्र तथा “जज्ञे शाल-
महीपालः प्रतिष्ठानपुरे पुरा ।” इति यथा दिवंगते हाल बसुन्धराधिपे ।
- 18 Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society.
- 19 कर्तर्या कुन्तलः शातकर्णिः शातवाहनो महादेवीम् मलयवतीम् जघान्.
- 20 Brown, Story of Kālaka.
- 21 Bhārati, Vol. III. Part I.
- 22 Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic
Society.
- 23 Gāthā-Sapta-Śatī, Jagadishlal's Edition.
- 24 “ “ “ Nirnaya-Sagar Edition.

- 25 Swynnerton, Adventures of the Punjab Hero, Raja Rasālu.
- 26 Archaeological Survey of Mysore. 1929.
- 27 Jayaswal, History of India.
- 28 Sarkar, Select Inscriptions Vol. I.
- 29 Gopalachari, Early History of Andhra Country.
- 30 S. B. E. XVII.
- 31 Aiyangar, Beginnings of South Indian History.
- 32 Jayaachandra Vidyalamkar, भारतीय इतिहास की रूपरेखा.
- 33 Dikshitar, Silappadikaram, Introduction.
- 34 Ketkar, शातवाहनपर्व.
- 35 Cunningham, Archaeological Reports.
- 36 Rajawade, Jñāneśvarī, Introduction.
- 37 Barua, Old Brāhmi Inscriptions.
- 38 Epigraphia Carnatika.
- 39 Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. III, No. 18.
- 40 Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. XVI.
- 41 Z. D. M. G.
- 42 Mysore Gazetteer, II, Part I.
- 43 Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies.
- 44 Catalogue of Āndhra Coins.
- 45 Archaeological Survey of Western India.
- 46 Pargiter, Dynasties of Kali Age.
- 47 Turnour, Mahāvamśo.
- 48 Tawney and Penzar, Ocean of Story.
- 49 Hargreaves, Sculptures in the Peshāwar Museum.
- 50 Samantapasādika.
- 51 P. T. S. Aiyangar : Advanced History of India.
- 52 Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1893.
- 53 Indian Historical Quarterly.
- 54 Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- 55 Asiatic Researches.
- 56 Smith, Early History of India.

- 57 *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.*
- 58 Crooke, *Religion and Folk Lore of Northern India.*
- 59 *Harivamśa*, I. IX.
- 60 Hewitt, *History and Chronology of the Myth Making Age.*
- 61 Coomarswamy, *Yakṣa.*
- 62 *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.*
- 63 *Cambridge History of India.*
- 64 *The Kāveri, Maukhari and Saṅgam Age.*
- 65 A. S. P. Aiyar, *Kovalan and Kannaki, Introduction.*
- 66 Kanakasabhai, *Tamils 1800 Years Ago.*
- 67 *Tamil Lexicon*, Madras University.
- 68 Jayaswal, *Modern Review*, 1913 December.
- 69 *Yājñavalkya.*
- 70 Miśra, *Nepālakā Itihāsa.*
- 71 Perry, *Children of the Sun.*
- 72 Wilson, *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa.*
- 73 *Encyclopaedia of Religions.*
- 74 *Rg-Veda.*
- 75 *Bhavisya-Purāṇa.*
- 76 Stella Kramrisch, *Indian Sculpture. Identified as the Sun.*
Also Grundwel, *Buddhist Art in India.* p. 41.
- 77 *Shivaramamurti, Amarāvati Sculptures. Identified as the*
chariot of the Sun.
- 78 Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition.*
- 79 *Padma-Purāṇa.*
- 80 Rangacharya, *Vedic India.*
- 81 Pradhan, *Chronology of India.*
- 82 *A New History of the Indian People.*
- 83 Sarakar, *Successors of the Śātavāhanas.*
- 84 *Pārāyaṇa Vagga*, S. B. E.
- 85 Barua and Simha, *Bārhut Inscriptions.*
- 86 Vaidya, *Madhya-YugIn-Bhārata.*
- 87 *Bhāvalapur Gazeteer.*

- 88 Sherring, Hindu Castes and Tribes. ,
- 89 Deshmukh, Kṣatriyāñcā Jātavāra Itihāsa.
- 90 Jayaswal, Hindu Polity.
- 91 Longhurst, Buddhist Antiquities of Nāgarjunikondā.
- 92 Cunningham, Coins of Ancient India.
- 93 New Indian Antiquary.
- 94 Chakraborty, Ancient Indian Numismatics.
- 95 Bhagavanlal Indrajī, Sopārā and Padana.
- 96 Chalfant, Early Chinese Writing.
- 97 Knight, Symbolical Language of Ancient Art and
Mythology.
- 98 Rawlinson, Western Asia Inscriptions.
- 99 Numismatic Supplement.
- 100 Aynsley, Symbolism in East and West.
- 101 Thomas, The Indian Swastika and Its Western Counter-
part: Numismatic Chronicle, 1880.
- 102 Thomas, Earliest Indian Coinage.
- 103 Transactions of the IXth Congress of Orientalists, Vol. I.
- 104 Cunningham, Bhilsa Tope.
- 105 Journal of the Society of Oriental Art.
- 106 M. Mus, Barabudur.
- 107 Parker, Ancient Ceylon.
- 108 Shivarāmamurti, Numismatic Parallels in Kālidāsa.
- 109 Dixit, Mother Goddess.
- 110 Allan, Coins of Ancient India.
- 111 Acta Orientalia, I. 1923.
- 112 Vaidya, Upasamhāra.

CARRIAGE-MANUFACTURE IN THE VEDIC PERIOD AND IN ANCIENT CHINA IN 1121 B. C.

BY

P. K. GODE

In the *Vedic Index*¹ by Keith and Macdonell we get the following information about the Chariot (*ratha*) of Vedic Aryans:—

(1) *Ratha* meant in the *Rgveda* and later a 'chariot' as opposed to *anas* (cart) though the distinction is not absolute. Of differences in the structure of the two we have no information, except that the *Kha* (nave hole) in the wheel of the chariot was greater than in that of the cart.

(2) As a rule the chariot had *two wheels* (*Cakra*).

(3) The wheel consisted of a rim (*pavi*), a felly (*pradhi*), spokes (*ara*) and a nave (*nabhya*).

(4) The rim and the felly constituted the *Nemi*.

(5) The hole in the nave is called *Kha*.

(6) The end of the axle was inserted into *Kha*.

(7) The term *Ani* may denote the extremity of the axle that was inserted in the nave or the lynch-pin used to keep that extremity in the wheel.

(8) Sometimes a solid wheel was used.

(9) The axle (*akṣa*) was in some cases made of (*aratu*) wood, and round its ends the wheel revolved.

(10) The axle was attached to the body of the chariot (*Kośa*), which was also called *Vandhura* meaning the "seat" of the chariot.

(11) The chariot of the *Āsṛins* is called "*tri-vandhura*" and "*tri-cakra*" i. e. a chariot with three seats and three wheels. Zimmer however, considers such a chariot as purely mythical.

(12) *Garta* denoted the seat of the warrior.

¹ See Vol. II, pp. 201-208.

(13) The pole of the chariot (*Īsū*, *Pruga*) was at right angles to the axle. Normally there was one pole on either side of which the horses were harnessed.

(14) A yoke (*yuṇa*) was laid across the necks of the horses. The pole was passed through the hole in the yoke (*Kha* or *tardman*) and the yoke and the pole were tied together.

(15) The horses were tied by the neck (*grīvā*) where the yoke was placed and also at the shoulder, presumably by traces fastened to a bar of wood at right angles to the pole, or fastened to the ends of the pole, if that is to be regarded as of triangular shape, wide at the foot and coming to a point at the tip.

(16) The words *Raśmi* and *Raśanā* seem to denote "traces". They may also denote the "reins" which were fastened to the bit (perhaps *Śiprū*) in the horse's mouth.

(17) The driver controlled the horses by reins and urged them on with a whip (*Kaśū*).

(18) The girths of the horse were called *Kakṣyā*.

(19) Normally two horses were yoked to the chariot but three or four were also frequently used for this purpose. It is not certain whether the extra horse was attached in front or at the side. Perhaps both modes were in use. Even five steeds were employed.

(20) Horses were normally used for chariots. Sometimes asses (*gardabha*) or mules (*aśvatarī*) were also used.

(21) The Ox was employed for drawing carts and in fact derived its name "*anaḍvāh*" from this use. Sometimes a poor man had to be content with a single steed which then ran between two shafts.

(22) In the chariot the driver stood on the right while the warrior was on the left, as indicated by his name *Savyeṣṭha* or *Savyeṣṭhā* (The Greek notices speak of two warriors and a charioteer). He could also sit when he wanted for the chariot had seats and an archer would naturally prefer to sit while shooting his arrows.

(23) The dimensions of the chariot are given in the *Śulba Sūtra* of Āpastamba at 188 *āṅgulis* (finger-breadths) for the pole, 104 for the axle and 86 for the yoke.

(24) The material used in the construction of the chariot was wood, except for the rim of the wheel¹.

(25) Many other parts of the chariot are mentioned such as *Aṅka*, *Nyaṅka*, *Uddhi*, *Pakṣas*, *Pātalya*, *Bhūrij*, *Rathopastha*, *Ratha-vāhana* but their names are often obscure in meaning.

(26) The *Vedic Index* further records the following terminology connected with *Ratha* (chariot) :—

Rathakūra—Chariot-maker. In the *Atharva-veda* the *Ratha-kūra* already forms a caste.

Ratha-grṣṭa—Skilled charioteer.

Ratha-Cakra—Chariot wheel.

Ratha-Carṣaṇa—perhaps means 'pathway of the chariot'.

Ratha-jūti—"driving swiftly in a chariot" or a proper name.

Ratha-nābhi—nave of the chariot wheel.

Ratha-mukha—fore-part of a chariot.

Ratha-vāhana—A movable stand to hold a chariot. The Greeks had such stand on which the chariot rested when out of use.

Ratha-Śirṣa—The head of the chariot.

Ratha-Saṅga—Hostile encounter of chariots.

Rathākṣa—Axle of the chariot.

Rathāhnya—A day's journey by chariot.

Rathin and *Rathi*—One who goes in a chariot (Both the driver and warrior).

Rathītara—"good charioteer", name of a teacher.

Rathe-ṣṭhā—Car-fighter.

Rathopastha—the bottom of the chariot on which the driver and the fighter stand.

The foregoing information about the chariot of the Vedic Aryans shows clearly the wide-spread use of the chariot during

¹ The chariot used at a bridal procession was made of *Sālmali* wood (Rv. X, 85, 20). In Rv. III. 53 the chariot (*syandana*) is said to be made of the timber of *Khadira* tree and the *Śimsapā* tree (vide my paper on "The Indian Bullock-cart: Its Vedic and Pre-historic Ancestors" in the *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. V, pp. 144-151).

the Vedic period, for which the lower limit according to Macdonell is 500 B. C. and the upper limit is "not much earlier than 1200 B. C." The references to chariot-terminology collected in the Vedic Index are very interesting as they show the art of chariot-manufacture in a sufficiently developed condition. One, however, fails to notice in these references any detailed description of the chariot-manufacture as we find in Kautilya's chapter on "The Superintendent of chariots" (chapter XXXIII of Book-II pp. 155-156 of Eng. Trans. of *Arthaśāstra* 1929). In this chapter Kautilya observes:—

"The functions of the Superintendent of horses will explain those of the Superintendent of chariots. The Superintendent of chariots shall attend to the construction of chariots. The best chariot shall measure 10 *puruṣas*¹ (= 96 *āṅgulas*) in height and 12 *puruṣas* in width. After this model, 7 more chariots with width decreasing by one *puruṣa* successively down to a chariot of 6 *puruṣas* in width shall be constructed. He shall also construct chariots of gods (*deva-ratha*) festal chariots (*puṣyaratha*),² battle-chariots (*Sāṅgrāhika*), travelling chariots (*pāriyānika*), chariots used in assailing an enemy's strongholds (*parapurābhīyānika*) and training chariots.

He shall also examine the efficiency in the training of troops in shooting arrows, in hurling clubs and cudgels, in wearing mail armour, in equipment, in charioteering, in fighting, seated on a chariot and in controlling chariot horses.

He shall also attend to the accounts of provision and wages paid to those, who are either permanently or temporarily employed (to prepare chariots and other things). Also he shall take steps to maintain the employed contented and happy by adequate reward (*yogyarakṣānuṣṭhānam*)³ and ascertain the distance of roads".

In the foregoing lines we get some idea about the construction of chariots of different types for different purposes, the

¹ Meyer interprets that a chariot shall have space for 10 to 12 men.

² Chariots used for festive occasions, such as coronation etc. *commentary*.

³ Some take this to mean "to keep the employed at a safe distance from the intrigues of enemies" — *Commentary*.

war-chariots being of course the main object of the care and supervision of a state officer "the superintendent of chariots". Though *Kautilya* lays down the measurements of different chariots he does not describe the details of the construction of the different parts of the chariots. One wonders if there existed any treatise on chariot-manufacture prior to *Kautilya* or posterior to him. Had such a treatise been available we would have known more details about chariot-manufacture in ancient India than what we can gather by collecting together stray references to chariots of the Vedic and the post-Vedic period of Indian history. In the absence of such a special treatise, *Kautilya's* remarks quoted above have a special historical significance for the history of chariot manufacture in Ancient India.

Let us now see the progress of chariot-manufacture made in outside countries synchronously with the Vedic period. In this connection I shall record in this paper some evidence of a Chinese text of *B. C. 1121*, which describes in detail the *manufacture of carriages* as current in China at this time and even before this date. This text is no other than "*The Ceremonial Usages¹ of the Chinese, B. C. 1121*", as prescribed in the "*Institutes of the Chow Dynasty Strung as Pearls*" or *Chow Le Kwan Choo*" (being an abridgement of the *Chow Le* classic by Hoo Peih Seang, designated Mung Chew). Gingell states that his Translation affords "some insight into the forms and usages of the Chinese, who are to the present day but little changed from what they were nearly 3000 years ago. Few would give them credit for so much civilization at this remote period." In view of these remarks about the antiquity of the Chinese classic I was tempted

¹ Translated from the original Chinese, with Notes, by William Raymond Gingell, Interpreter to Her Majesty's Consulate, Foo Chow Foo, London, 1852. Lin Kow Hwale, the teacher of the Translator has added a Preface to the Translation, from which I note some particulars:—(1) England had commercial intercourse with China from the beginning of the *Ming* dynasty (1643). In 1842 a British Consul was established at the Five Ports. Englishmen were allowed to employ Chinese teachers. Gingell went to China from India in a troop-ship in 1842 and while at Nanking studied Chinese poetry, writings and literature. The Preface was written in 1849.—The Preface by the compiler, Hoo Peih Seang printed in this translation is dated 1797. This Preface states that the *Chow le* classic originated in 1108 B. C.

to go through Mr. Gingell's translation, keeping constantly in my mind the state of Indian civilization about 1000 B. C. as disclosed by the Vedic and early post-Vedic literature. Among other things the remarks in this Translation about *chariot-manufacture* or rather *carriage-manufacture* in China 3000 years ago interested me very much in view of my interest in the history of Indian *carriage-manufacture from the Vedic times onwards*. I shall, therefore, record below the information about the Chinese chariots and other vehicles as disclosed by Mr. Gingell's Translation. Pages 18-26 are devoted to *carriages and banners* which "required due distinction" like the "palace dresses and other majestic pomps" of the King.

Page 18—"The *Kin Keu* had charge of the orders of government as regards the *State Carriage*".

(1) — *Yu loo* was a "gem-ornamented chariot" used on the occasion of offering sacrifice.

(2) — *Kin loo* carriage was employed on great occasions.

(3) — *Seang loo* chariot was used when going to audiences.

(4) — *Kih loo* carriage bound with leather was used on military occasions.

(5) — *Muh loo* chariot was employed on hunting expeditions. These were the *five equipages of the King*.

(1) — *Chung tee* chariot was used by the queen when she accompanied the King to sacrifice.

(2) — *Yeu tee* carriage was used by the queen when she visited the King.

(3) — *Gan Keu* equipage was made use of when the queen visited the King in court.

Page 19 (4) — *Tee Keu* chariot was used by the queen when she went to pluck the mulberry.

(5) — *Neen Keu* carriage was employed by the queen when she moved within the precincts of the palace.

These were the *five equipages of the queen*.

— *Officers beneath the King* made use of —

(1) *Hea Cheun* — a carriage with various colours and carved.

- Nobles used (2) *Hea man*—a carriage painted with various colours but not engraved or carved.
- High officers used (3) *Meh Keu*—carriages varnished black and not painted.
- Sze made use of (4) *Tseen Keu*—a carriage with no colour excepting the original colour of the wood.
- People made use of (5) *Yuh Keu*—a carriage with a box behind for stowing baggage etc.

Thus each carriage had its distinctive uses high or low. *Teen loo* officer was “*inspector of chariots*”. The *Keu poh* looked after attendant coaches attached to the war chariots of different varieties. The *Jung Yew* looked after military weapons and attendants attached to the war-chariots. — The text then mentions several officials with several duties connected with King’s chariots.

Page 20—The most honourable of all was *Tae Yue* “chief charioteer” who was attached to *Yu loo* chariot which was accompanied by a special tune when moving slowly, and by a different tune, when moving rapidly; bells on the trappings of horses and on the carriage keeping due unison and time to the tune played.

The foregoing information about the different types of chariots and their distinctive uses shows the highly developed condition of the chariot-manufacture. The following extract is, however, highly informative. It takes a general survey of the principles of carriage-building as it was carried on 3000 years ago:—

“We now come to notice the *manufacture of the carriages*. The book *Kaou Kung Ke* states that the *yew yu she* (Imperial Title of *Shun*—2254 B. C.) esteemed pottery.

The *Hea how she* (Imperial title of *Ta Yu*—2204 B. C.) delighted in *handi-craft and building*; and the men of the *Yin* dynasty (1372 B. C.) esteemed *house-hold furniture*. The men of the *chow* dynasty (1121 B. C.) paid particular regard to *carriages*. Hence

there was a multiplicity of workmen employed in their manufacture. Carriages were in abundance. Taking a general survey of the principles of Carriage-building, it was desirable that the parts of the wheel should be solid, firmly joined, and well fitted, and that the wheel should be exactly rounded, so that it should be light and firm upon the ground: were it otherwise than solid and well joined, it would not be durable; and were it not accurately rounded it would not revolve quickly. If the wheels were too high, persons would find difficulty in getting into the carriage; and if on the other hand they were too low, the vehicle would weigh and press down upon the horse when ascending a slope. To this end, the wheels of the war-chariot (*Jung Keu*) were six covids six inches in height; the "hunting carriage" (*Teen Keu*), six covids three inches and the wheels of the carriage in common use were six covids six inches. Those wheels which were six covids six inches in height had the nave or perforation for the axle three covids three inches high and the flat bottom of the body of the carriage with its two *Leang puh* (= two pieces of wood on either side, which supported the body of the carriage and under which the axle lay) placed on the top thereof, formed altogether a height of four covids¹ from the ground. The men were in stature eight covids² and the steps for getting up and down required to be in due proportion. The *Lun jin* made the wheels, and the *To hue* prepared the three materials (for the wheel), a proper season being fixed for the preparation of each. The nave (*Kuh*) was required to revolve quickly, the spokes to be straight and firm and the outer band of the wheel well braced and durable. On looking at the wheel a little distance off, it was desirable that it should revolve gracefully and smoothly; and when looking at it close, that it should be accurately rounded, and rest lightly on the ground: nothing else was required but that it should be circular. The spokes, viewed from a short distance should appear small and fine; and on looking closer, the ends should exactly fit the outer band of the wheel: nothing else was required but that

¹ A Cavid is supposed to have been some what smaller than the one now in use.

² A cavid is 10 Chinese inches; and 2 covids 6 inches = 1 yard English; so that the stature of the men was upward of 9 feet.

they should be all set in evenly, and be firm and straight. On looking at the nave at a short distance, the projecting part of it should appear convex, and on close examination its lining, or casing of leather should be evenly and firmly bound on, without loose edges: nothing else was required but that it should be suitable for speed. On looking at the convex side of the spokes (*Kang*), it was desirable that the ends which entered the outer band of the wheel should be correctly adjusted; and on examining the ends which entered the nave, that they should be well and regularly set: then, although the wheel might be broken, they would not be distorted (or out of place). The rule followed in cutting the nave was to mark off exactly the ying and yang (male and female) principles of wood). If the nave of the wheel were too small and long, it caused the spokes to be much crowded; and if too large and short, it was unsteady and dangerous. The nave was required to be straight in appearance, and the building evenly put on. When glue was made use of it was required thick; and when sinews were applied, they were twisted many times. When the wheel was required for travelling over marshy places, it was essential that it (the rim of the wheel) should be thin and sharp; and when for hill travelling, flat. The compass was used to determine its true circle, and the square to ascertain distortion. The wheel was suspended or balanced to determine the straightness of the spokes; and it was placed in water to observe if it became equally immersed; ¹ and millet-grain was used to measure the holes for the spokes, in order that they should be all of one size; the two wheels were weighed by the balance to ascertain that they were equal.

Hence, to use the compass, apply the square, mark the gravity of water, suspend measure and weigh was denominated *Kwo Kung*, "excellent work".

The *Keu jin* made the carriage commonly in use among the people. The handle of the axle used was three covids long and the nave of the wheel was half of the length of this, or one-sixth. The spokes were one *Ko* "axe-handle", and a half in length or four covids five inches.

These were the established rules for the large carriage or cart. When this vehicle was required for travelling over marshy

¹ That one part was not heavier than another.

ground, the *nave* was made short, and when over hilly ground, long. For travelling over marshy places, the outer *circumference* of the wheel was required to be made of wood bent outward on itself (the timber being cut in half); and for hilly ground it was bent laterally or sideways. The *wheel* was three *Ko* or nine *covids* in height, the *carriage-box* behind eight *covids*, and the *yuen*, or *shafts* were thrice as long as the wheels were high, or *twenty-seven covids*. This differed from the pole of the small *military carriage*, as the latter was only *fourteen covids four inches* long. The *space between the poles*, or the *shafts*, was *six covids* and the *yoke* was *six covids* long. This differed from the yoke of the *small carriage*, which was *six covids six inches*.

Now the *large-carriage shafts* were called *yuen* and the *small-carriage pole* *chow*: the *yoke* of the one (*gih*), differed from the *yoke* of the other (*Hang*); for in the *large carriage*¹ two *shafts* were used with one *ox* between them; hence the *gih* was shorter, and the space between the shafts was necessarily more narrow. The *small carriage* (see cut) had one *pole* with a *pair of horses* on each side of the pole: hence the *yoke* was required to be long, and the space where they were harnessed broader. Thus the *yoke* of the *large-carriage* and the *yoke* of the *small one*, although of similar use were essentially different.

The *Keu jin* made the *body of the carriage* and the length of the *yoke*, or bar, were all *six covids six inches*. The three were alike; hence arose the saying "of three proportions".

These were the established rules for the *small carriages* (hunting coaches and chariots).

Now as regards the fashion of the *vehicles*. The body of the *Tseen Keu* "plain carriages" sloped inwards from the bottom to the top: the body of the *Ship Keu* "ornamented carriage," sloped outwards from the bottom to top: all that was required to be circular was made so by means of the *compass*: all that was desired to be square was ruled by the *square*; all that was required upright was tested by the *plummet-line*; and the *yokes* were of

¹ The *large carriage* was drawn by one *ox*, the *small carriage* by two or more *horses* with a pole between them.

equal weight, as determined by their gravity in water. The straight portions were like growing sprouts, and the portions joined seemed part and parcel of the whole.

The *chow jin* made the *poles*; the *chow* served the purpose of the *yuen*, or *shafts*; and to this was hooked the *Hang* of the *small carriage* to which the horse was fastened: this was fourteen covids four inches in length. There were three modes of making it; and the *axle-tree*, or piece of cross wood on which the wheels were set (*chuh*) had also three distinct principles on which it was made. The *pole* for the large horse *Kwo ma* was four covids seven inches deep in the curve; that for the *Teen ma* four covids; that for the *Noo ma* three covids three inches. Thus the *pole* was curved, but it was desirable that the bend should not be abrupt (like a bent bow).

Now as regards the *shafts* of the *large carriage*. If these were too low, it would have been a difficult matter for the ox to ascend a slope; and if the animal were urged on, it would cause the carriage to upset backwards readily: this would happen from no other cause than that of the shafts being straight without any bend. Hence although the shafts of the *large carriage* might be exactly of a proper height on level ground, yet on ascending a *slope*, if they did not press down upon the ox they would lift the animal up: this would arise from no other cause than that of the shafts being straight and without curve. On coming to a *declevity*, if the shafts were not lifted up from off the beast, the breaching would inevitably strike against the hind quarters of the *ox*, from no other reason than that the shafts were straight and without curve. Thus the shafts of the *large carriage* must also have a *curve* in them as being highly necessary. The *pole* of the *small carriage* required to be firm and tough: were the *curve* of the pole too deep, it would readily break; and if too shallow, it would press too much upon the horses. If the *pole* was adapted to the horse's backs, the motion of the carriage was equalized, and the vehicle lasted for a long time. When all these points were attended to, the case of the occupant is secured. The *pole* was required to be curved without angles (uneven points) and the grain of the wood to be continuous and unbroken. In front was the horse, which had to be considered: and behind sat

the man, who likewise claimed consideration. After a whole day's travel the attendants would then be untired; the horse, although he had passed over a thousand le, would not be jaded; and the clothes of the charioteer would not be rubbed or worn, even after a whole year: this from all being well adapted. On requiring the horse to put forth his strength in ascending a hill, the pole would be an assistance to him when his strength became exhausted.

The bottom-board of the carriage was square and in this respect resembled the earth (alluding to the four cardinal points). The covering or umbrella above was circular, and resembled the heavens. The spokes of the wheel were thirty, corresponding with the days of the month, and the ribs of the covering were twenty-eight in number, agreeing with the twenty-eight constellations. The Lung ~~Ke~~ had nine pendant streamers and resembled the Ta ho constellation; the Neaou yu bird ensign, had seven pendant streamers, and resembled the Tun ho constellation; the Heung Ke had six pendant streamers, and resembled the Fa constellation. Kwei shay, tortoise and snake flag, had four pendant streamers and resembled the ying ship constellation, and the Koo sing, or curved banner, with its bent handle, resembled the Koo constellation."

The foregoing long extract amply shows the advanced stage of carriage-manufacture in China in B. C. 1121. The mechanics of carriage-building, so graphically described in the above extract has, I believe, no parallel in Sanskrit Literature of the Vedic and post-Vedic period though the *Arthaśāstra* makes some approach to this question by enumerating different kinds of chariots and their measurements. In the absence of any such description about the Vedic chariots we cannot understand the mechanics of the vehicles. If the date 1121 B. C. for the Chinese classic from which we have taken the above extract is correct, we have to observe that the Chinese development of the art and mechanics of carriage-manufacture had no contact with the development of the Vedic chariot. Scholars tell us that "the earliest story of Sino-Indian contact" is connected with Emperor

¹ Vide p. 4 of *Indian Literature in China* by P. K. Mukherji, Calcutta, 1931.

Hiao-Wu (140-80 B. C.) of the early Han Dynasty" and the "starting point of Sino-Indian intercourse is generally put at A. D. 64".¹

In his recent book on "*War in Ancient India*" Prof. V. R. R. Dikshitar has recorded some valuable information² about *chariots*, from which I note below a few points :—

(1) The chariot was an indispensable instrument of war in the days of the Vedas.

(2) Originally the warrior was his own charioteer.

(3) For the first time the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* mentions a *charioteer* as distinct from the *warrior*.

(4) The *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* mentions *chariot-makers* or *rathakūras*.

(5) The *Mahābhārata* mentions *official charioteers* similar to the custom depicted in *Assyria* on the marbles from *Nineveh*.

(6) In the 4th century B. C. two warriors are seen in each chariot besides the charioteer (This is testified by Megasthenes),

(7) The *Rāmāyaṇa* (*yuddha*. 106, 16-20) lays down *tests* for *ideal charioteers*.

(8) The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* refers to a warrior versed in *eight modes* of fighting from a car.

(9) The *Arthaśāstra* refers to *Rathādhyakṣa* or superintendent of chariots. Six varieties of chariots are mentioned. The chariots were *two-wheeled*, *four-wheeled*³ and *eight-wheeled*. The officer in charge of the chariots was to maintain *accounts relating to the construction* of chariots and other matters.

(10) *Megasthenes* refers to Indian chariots drawn by *oxen* on the march.

(11) There were chariots drawn by *asses*, *bulls*, *mules* besides those drawn by *horses*.

¹ Ibid, p. 5.

² *War in Ancient India* (Macmillan & Co., 1944) pp. 157-166.

³ Vide *Travels of Fa-hsien* (399-414 A. D.) Trans. by H. A. Giles, Cambridge, 1923, p. 47—Fa-hsien describes a *ceremonial car*, *four-wheeled* and of *five stories*, over 20 feet in height, with silk banners etc., used for the annual procession of images in Magadha (Pāṭaliputra).

(12) Chariots of different types and materials are mentioned.

(13) *Sūkṛa* mentions a chariot of iron, The *Harivaṃśa* mentions the iron car of Dānava Talā having 8 wheels, axles and poles. It was 2 miles in length and drawn by 1000 mules.

(14) From the time of the *Epics* to the epoch of the *Purāṇas* the art of fighting from chariots had developed a high degree of perfection.

(15) Each chariot was marked by its *ensign* and *banner*.

(16) Besides *flags*, *umbrellas* (*chattra*, *ātapatra*) and *fans* were a part of the paraphernalia of the war-chariot.

(17) The use of war chariots declined gradually. In Bāṇa's description of Harṣa's army (7th century A. D.) no chariots are mentioned. No chariots are mentioned in the Kūṛam Pallava grant of 650 A. D. which mentions *elephants*, *horses* and *footmen*.

(18) In the history of the *Coḷa* kings of South India mention is only made of the three divisions of the army but the chariots are not mentioned. This omission indicates that they must have become obsolete by that time. ¹

In the account of chariots given by Prof. Dikshitar no reference is made by him to the Chinese chariots. If chariots had become obsolete about the 7th century A. D. as a regular part of the army we should expect their descriptions in subsequent records as only vehicles for civil use of the King. In fact in Someśvara's *Mānasollāsa* (Vol. II, G. O. S.) composed about A. D. 1180 we find such a chariot mentioned :—

Page 140— “ अश्वैश्चतुर्भिर्द्विभ्यां वा युक्तश्चक्रयुगान्वितः ।

सत्तकारणकैर्भव्यैश्चित्रितैः परिशोभितः ॥ ५५ ॥

नानावर्णपताकाभिर्भ्राजितः सुदृढाक्षकः ।

उत्तमः स्यन्दनो याने नृपाणामिव निर्मितः ॥ ॥ ”

This is a description of the King's vehicle with *two wheels* and drawn by *two* or four horses. This chariot was not a war-chariot but a sort of carriage for ceremonial and other uses.

¹ The *Mānasollāsa* (G. O. S. Baroda, 1939) Vol. II, p. 139 refers to king's vehicles (यान) viz. (1) दोला, (2) सुखासन, (3) हस्ती, (4) करिणी, (5) अश्वतरी, (6) हय, (7) रथ, (8) नौः ; and (9) प्लवक.

In the राजव्यवहारकोश composed by Raghunatha Pant Hanmante about A. D. 1676-77, under the orders of the Maratha King Shivaji the Great there is a section called चतुरङ्गवर्ग (Vide p. 155 of शिव-चरित्रप्रदीप, ed. by D. V. Apte and S. M. Divekar, Poona, 1923). In this section, while about 5 verses deal with terms pertaining to *elephants* and about 33 verses are devoted to the horse-terminology. Only the following three lines are devoted to the रथशाला:-

“रथशाला तु वहिलीमहाल इति कीर्तितः ।

वहिली स्यात्प्रवहणं वहिल्वानस्तुसारथिः ॥

गाडा शकट इत्युक्तः प्रतोदश्च दुमणी भवेत् ।”

Here the रथ or chariot is included in the चतुरङ्गवर्ग merely as a matter of courtesy. It had ceased its function as a fighting unit of the ancient Indian army but was maintained more for pomp than for use as an organized force as we find it in Kautilya's time.

THE INTERPRETATION OF THE PARVASAMGRAHA FIGURES

By

S. K. BELVALKAR

As is well known, the second chapter (and the second sub-parvan) of the Ādi-parvan or the First Book of the Mahābhārata offers a twofold list of contents for the entire epic. The first is a list of sub-parvans, just one hundred in number (stanzas 33-70). Immediately following upon it, there is a more detailed and descriptive list of contents which divides the epic into eighteen major Parvans as we know them, giving for each major Parvan the total of its chapters and ślokas (st. 71-233). There are discrepancies in these two lists of contents, suggesting that they might not belong to the same time and authorship. For instance, the sub-parvan list makes the figure hundred by counting the two khila or supplementary parvans, the Harivaṁśa and the Bhaviṣyat, which are deliberately ignored in the detailed list as given in the Crit. Ed. As belonging to Book 6, the Bhīṣma-parvan,¹ sub-parvan numbered 60, the Bhīṣmābhiṣecana, is found enumerated in the earlier list, but is absent from the later detailed list; and the same holds true in the case of the Bhūmi-parvan. From the Critical Apparatus to 1.2.54, we learn that, while there is just one MS. that omits the Bhīṣmābhiṣecana-parvan altogether, a considerable majority of them is for giving it a place under the Udyogaparvan, the book relating to "the getting ready for the war"; and this seems to be right, as the appointment of the *first* Senāpati should certainly belong to the Udyoga stage. Actually, 5. 153-156 are named Bhīṣmābhiṣecana-parvan. Secondly, we can imagine that the omission of the Bhūmi-parvan in the second list can perhaps mean that it was not known to it, although the possibility is not ruled out that it was subsumed under the general heading of the Jambūkhaṇḍavinirmāṇa. In the Bhīṣma text as critically edited, we find a distinct Bhūmi-

¹ My remarks are purposely limited to this Book which I have critically edited.

parvān, but absolutely nothing that can be designated Bhīṣmā-bhīṣecana.

We are immediately interested, however, in the totals for chapters and ślokas given in the second list. It would be only reasonable to assume that these figures were arrived at by an actual count taken from a version of the epic known and current at the place and the period when the count was taken. How was the count (particularly of the ślokas) taken? The official way¹ is to regard every stanza, whether in Anuṣṭubh, Tristubh, or in any other metre—whether regular, hypermetric or sub-metric—whether composed of two or four or six pādas—as just one stanza; while in the case of the prose passages, the unit consists of the numbered sentences or periods of varying lengths as they are found in the MSS. This method of counting ignores the colophons at the end of the chapters, and also the “uvāca” references at the commencement of a fresh speech, or a fresh chapter. The other is the scribe’s mode, according to which the unit consists of a collection of 32 syllables, normally arrived at by actually counting a couple of pages and estimating the remainder by averaging the number of syllables per page and folio. In this method, naturally, the “uvāca” references and the colophons did count, and presumably also (why not?) the daṇḍas and double daṇḍas, and in any case the stanza-numbers (if given), since they occupy some space and involve some labour for the scribe. There can be a third method, analogous to the above method of the scribe, which, however, would ignore the daṇḍas, double daṇḍas, stanza-numbers, *avagrahas* and other silent punctuations, i. e., everything that would not be included in an actual recitation.¹ In a paper contributed to the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Volume 66, no. 2, pp. 110–117, Professor D. D. Kosambi puts forth the view that the Parvassaṃgraha figures were arrived at by this last-mentioned reciter’s method.² The

¹ The reciter would invariably begin the day’s recitation with a *maṅgala*, and recite also a concluding valediction. These we can ignore as being more or less stereotyped repetitions.

² This method is designated by Kosambi as the mathematical method; but since the second method above described also requires the use of mathematical calculation, the three methods are, in this paper, distinguished as the official, the scribe’s, and the reciter’s methods.

view, as far as I can make out, appears to be based upon (i) the *a priori* consideration that since, for ages, the epic was handed down in oral recitations, that would be the natural method of counting the total extent. Also (ii) it is pointed out that the critical method of text-constitution adopted by the late Dr. V. S. Sukthankar gives us a text which, counted by the above method, results (barring an exception or two for which special reasons can exist) in a total number for the stanzas per parvan very nearly approaching the Parvasaṃgraha total—so that, to use Prof. Kosambi's words, "the text we now possess (in the Crit. Ed.) does actually represent something of very nearly the Parvasaṃgraha lengths." "The critical edition", he goes on, "indicates, in my own opinion, a pre-Parvasaṃgraha state of fluidity." And since this result is reached by following Kosambi's method of count, the Crit. Ed., so to say, is held to prove the correctness of the method. Finally (iii), the Mahāprasthānika, the 17th and the shortest of all the parvans, has in the Crit. Ed. the Parvasaṃgraha total of 120 stanzas¹, whereas in most printed editions the actual number of "official" stanzas is either 109, 110, 111, or at the most 115 (P. P. S. ed.), which can approximate the Parvasaṃgraha total only by following the "mathematical" count.² Therefore, concludes Kosambi, the official method could not have been the basis for the Parvasaṃgraha totals in this parvan (and therefore in all other parvans).

I hope I have correctly given the main points of the argument, but I am afraid, I cannot accept this conclusion. That the original Parvasaṃgraha figures were obtained by the diaskeuast from accurate counts, syllable by syllable, of some text before him, noting all cases of hypermetric and submetric stanzas, smells too much of the "chi-square test"! Mistakes were sure to be committed at almost every stage of the complicated process of counting. The average Indian scribe, and even the average poet for the matter of that, was not a careful mathematician, as the actual count of the Āraṇyaka-parvan according to the official

¹ Or 123, following Nilakaṇṭha's interpretation of इतत्रयं (the current reading) as इतं च त्रयं च; but not 300.

² By this Kosambi means the reciter's method. The scribe's method can also achieve the object.

method made by a scribe of the latter half of the eighteenth century would amply demonstrate.¹ 'Counting the total number of "official" stanzas was ever so much the easier, and we actually find it followed early in the ninth century by no less a person than Śaṅkarācārya, who gives the total extent of the Bhagavadgītā as 700 stanzas.'²

The strongest argument of Prof. Kosambi, based upon the Mahāprasthānika total, does not bear him out. It is true that the parvan is not yet critically edited. But collations of its text on the basis of several representative MSS. are available, and they indicate that in some MSS. the actual text given reads more than 120 "official" stanzas. It is possible that many of these additional stanzas would be ultimately dropped by the Critical Edition; but how can we be sure that the Parvasaṅgraha count for the Seventeenth Book was not made from some MS. which contained these additional stanzas? The argument would have been almost irresistible IF no MS. had given 120 (or more) as the "official" stanzas.

The Critical Edition claims to give a version of the text that is earlier than what is found in the extant MSS. of the epic. In the words of Prof. Kosambi, it is comparable to the starred forms of the philologist which explain the numerous extant cognate derivatives. The Parvasaṅgraha count was also probably made with a view to prevent unauthorized variations and amplifications in the text, the tendency for which had already begun to manifest itself; and it accordingly vouches for a text of the epic of nearly the same status and authoritativeness as the Critical text (the latter, if anything, representing a slightly earlier stage in the evolution). Hence, normally speaking, the actual stanza-total of a parvan from the Critical Edition should be slightly

¹ The MS. belongs to Sardar M. V. Kibe of Indore. The number of official stanzas per chapter are counted seriatim on a fly-leaf at the end of the parvan. There are a few lapses in the counting. The result, the copyist tells us, is वैयासिकीसंख्या ११९६४ । विद्यमानसंख्या ११७५८. Evidently, the scribe read the Parvasaṅgraha stanza 129 with तथा नवशतानि च (for श्लोकानां षट्शतानि च). Correcting the scribe's lapses in counting, the विद्यमानसंख्या would be ११८५४.

² "Gītākyais saptabhiḥ ślokaśataih" — found in the opening passage of his Gītābhāṣya.

behind the Parvasaṅgraha total. This in fact is found to be the case in the first six 'parvans' of the epic at present available in the Critical Edition, if we adopt the ordinary "official" method of counting the stanzas. But if we adopt the reciter's method, the Sabhāparvan forms an exception as it gives an excess of about 88 stanzas over the Parvasaṅgraha figure, which Kosambi tries to explain away by assuming that the Sabhā 'derives from a later or at least more inflated version than the Par. recension'. Since the MSS. used for the Sabhā were more or less of the same character as those for the other parvans, and since, as Edgerton himself points out, his assumption of three independent versions or streams of tradition instead of assuming only two recensions as in the other parvans edited, has occasioned little or no difference in the results, it is difficult to explain why the Sabhā alone of all the parvans so far edited should have a different derivation as Kosambi assumes. The whole difficulty, it seems to me, is of Kosambi's own creation.

I may point out that, as early as 1921, I had mentioned, in my review of C. V. Vaidya's Mahābhārata-Upasaṅgraha, that the first result expected of the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata would be to bring down the extent of the epic to a figure nearer to and even lower than the Parvasaṅgraha figure, provided we fix editorially how the Par. stanzas giving the figures are to be correctly worded. My words were¹:

पर्वसंग्रहपवाचा कर्ता सौति असो वा दुसरा कोणी असो,.....ज्या-
अर्थी या पर्वसंग्रहपवांतील श्लोकांची बेरीज एक लक्ष होत नाही, व अनु-
क्रमणिकापवांत व गुप्तवंशीय सर्वनाथाच्या शिलालेखांत महाभारत शतसहस्र-
संहितात्मक असल्याचा स्पष्ट उल्लेख आहे, त्याअर्थी ही परिगणना...सौति-
नंतर घातलेल्या अनधिकृत प्रक्षिप्तांमुळे अस्तित्वांत आली असावी.....

¹ The figures for the Bhīṣma calculated according to Kosambi's method are :

Par. chapters	117 (v. I. 118)
Actual chapters	117
Par. ślokas	5884
'Official' stanzas	5406
Syllables ÷ 32	5828.09

² See the *Vividhajāṇnavistāra* (Bombay) for Feb. 1921.

प्रत्येक पाठपरंपरेंत थोडीं बहुत—पण नेहमीं समजलीं जातात त्याहून जास्त—प्रक्षिप्त आहेतच. तीं अगोदर ठरवून काढून टाकिलीं, पर्वसंग्रह-पर्व्याच्या परिगणनेवरहुकुम आपणांस महाभारत बनवितां आलें—म्हणजे मग, पर्वसंग्रहपर्वीतील महाभारत व सौतीचें महाभारत यांत अंतर आहे किंवा कसें हें ठरवावयाचें. पण त्यापूर्वीं पर्वसंग्रहपर्व्याचाच पाठ निश्चित ठरविला पाहिजे.

That the Critical Edition would give us a śloka-total equal and indeed lower than the Parvasaṅgraha total was therefore a result confidently expected long before the text of even a single stanza of the epic was critically constituted. Following the "official" count, the actual result since reached fully satisfies the expectation in the case of the six parvans so far critically edited. If it does not seem to do so in the case of the Sabhāparvan alone, that is because Professor Kosambi brings in his new method of count, which, as we said, is not endorsed by writers like Śaṅkara when they have an occasion to speak of the extent of a section of the epic. Nor is it the practice in vogue amongst scribes, if we care to attach some importance to the evidence of the actual count made by the Indore MS. of the Āraṇyakaparvan.

The difference between the "official" and the "mathematical" count first came to the fore in connection with the extent of the Bhagavadgītā, which, in the "Gītāmāna" lines (Bhīṣma 112*) is given as 745. Would the application of Prof. Kosambi's method of count turn the 700 "official" stanzas of Śaṅkara into 745 "mathematical" stanzas? That would indeed be the acid test. Now that the text of the Bhagavadgītā has been critically constituted, we ought to be in a position to give a definite reply.

We are, however, confronted here with an initial difficulty. A separate count for the Bhagavadgītā implies its existence as a separate poem. What were, at that time and in that form, the colophons at the end of the respective adhyāyas? The colophons could have been either—

इति श्रीमहाभारते भीष्मपर्वणि [त्रयोविंशो.....चत्वारिंशो]

अध्यायः

(1)

OR इति श्रीमहाभारते भीष्मपर्वणि श्रीमद्भगवद्गीतायां [प्रथमो...

अष्टादशो] अध्यायः

(2)

or इति श्रीमद्भगवद्गीतासूपनिषत्सु ब्रह्मविद्यायां योगशास्त्रे श्री-
कृष्णार्जुनसंवादे [.....नाम प्रथमो.....अष्टा-
दशो] अध्यायः (3)

The stanza-total of the colophons *plus* the uvāca-references according to Kosambi's method would be 22·1 ślokas in (1), 26·29 in (2), and 43·6 in (3): giving respectively a total of (1) 741·81, (2) 746·00, and (3) 763·31 ślokas for the whole poem. According to none of these can the exact figure 745 be reached. What is the advantage, then, of this new, very taxing and cumbrous method?

Nay, things turn out to be still worse. For, the "Gitāmāna" gives us not only the grand total of 745 stanzas, but distributes the same amongst the four speakers of the Gītā, viz. Kṛṣṇa 620, Arjuna 57, Saṃjaya 67, and Dhṛtarāṣṭra 1. To be consistent, these figures also ought to represent the "mathematical" totals for each speaker's share in the poem. Actually we find by calculation that (ignoring the colophons and the uvāca references) Kṛṣṇa's 574 official stanzas work out into 581·90 "mathematical" stanzas; Arjuna's 63 into 74·06; and Saṃjaya's 62 into 62·75: Dhṛtarāṣṭra alone keeping to his solitary one stanza in either count.¹ But the more serious difficulty is about the uvāca references and the colophons. Should Saṃjaya or Kṛṣṇa be supposed to have solemnly declaimed all the colophons, and each speaker his own uvāca references? The supposition would be ridiculous in the extreme. While, therefore, admitting the justice of the scribes being permitted, while receiving wages for actual work, to adopt the śloka unit of 32 syllables, I should be content, for all literary purposes, with just the easily countable "official" stanza as the unit. And I assume that the Parvasaṃgraha total of ślokas was reached by following just the "official" count.

¹ I am grateful to Mr. V. C. Devdhar of the Mbh. Dept. for having worked out these figures for me.

SAMJAYA'S " EYE DIVINE "

BY

S. K. BELVALKAR

Yuddhasya vārtā ramyā — " Captivating are the Chronicles of War " — says a Sanskrit *subhāṣita*; and although the emphasis here intended is on *kathā* (third-party report), as distinguished from *anubhava* (personal experience), it is true all the same that a well-told tale of a fierce and fateful fight has ever an attraction all its own. We have, in our own generation, lived through two such wars waged on a scale much greater than that of the Bhārata War, and can recall without much effort our eager hunt in the Dailies for the latest war-news; our keen disappointment when for weeks and weeks we were fed (and fed up) with such stereotyped bulletins as : " Operations continued on all fronts " — " We gained two strategic points on the Western front " — " We successfully retired to a prepared position from the advance-points gained by our forces the day before " ; and can recollect above all our sense of utter frustration when two high-placed and reliable sources treated us with two contradictory accounts of the self-same event, giving widely varying estimates of its strategic and even ethical implications. The greatest shock, however, would come when, what for the best part of a week passed as an interesting and authentic account of an important happening somewhere, was declared to be an utterly baseless fabrication circulated by some sensation-mongering underlings of the Fourth Estate.

Considering these admitted shortcomings of war-chronicles, it will have to be admitted that the Author of the Mahābhārata¹ has succeeded remarkably well in giving us varied, interesting and life-like pictures of the main events of all the eighteen days of the Kaurava-Pāṇḍava war. The account is thrown in the form of a dialogue between two persons (Samjaya and Dhṛtarāṣṭra)

¹ References to the Mahābhārata are according to the Critical Edition in the case of the first six Parvans, and according to the Bombay ed. in the case of the remaining Parvans.

whose standpoints about the ethics of the war, were different; and our Author has very happily introduced the principal persons taking part in the actual fight in the act of delivering words of challenge and counter-challenge to their opponents, or of solace and encouragement to their comrades in arms, including many a remarkable *Apologia pro Vita sua* such as that of Bhīṣma (6. 94), Bhīṣma (B 11. 15. 15-20), Kārṇa (B 8. 42), Kṛṣṇa (B 9. 60) and Duryodhana (B 9. 61; 64), calculated to make these great characters stand out before us in flesh and blood. This no doubt creates an illusion of verisimilitude that is, in its turn, assisted by several graphic back-ground descriptions, a few of which err, unfortunately, by being slightly overdone and reduplicated.¹

The fighting of the day followed the stereotyped pattern of a succession of *dvandva* and *saṅkula* engagements, with the self-same succession of weapons at stated stages in the combat, except where some *māyā* or *astra* was in action. And the descriptions are said to be those of an actual eye-witness: *pratyakṣadarśi sarvaśya* (6.14.1; B7. 12.1; B9. 29-47; etc.), who happened to be not only most favourably situated as regards observing the happenings on (and even outside) the battlefield, but who was guaranteed never to make—consciously or unconsciously—any wrong observation or false report! It is in this connection that Samjaya's Eye Divine or *Divyam cakṣuḥ* comes into play.

Dhṛtarāṣṭra, the blind old King, was naturally most anxious for war-news; and sage Vyāsa—the traditional Author of the Mahābhārata—specially arranged that Samjaya should convey to the King a graphic and detailed account of all the happenings. The text reads (6. 2. 9-12):

एष ते संजयो राजन्युद्धमेतद्वद्विष्यति ।

एतस्य सर्वं संग्रामे नपरोक्षं भविष्यति ॥

चक्षुषा संजयो राजन्दिव्येनैव समन्वितः ।

कथयिष्यति ते युद्धं सर्वज्ञश्च भविष्यति ॥

¹ In fairness to the author of the first redactor of the Mahābhārata it must be said that a large succession of inferior and provincial "interpolators" (many of whom the Critical Edition has already weeded out) have woefully spoiled the original perfection of his artifact, and have introduced absurd self-contradictions, an instance or two of which will be found towards the end of the present paper.

प्रकाशं वा रहस्यं वा रात्रौ वा यदि वा दिवा ।
मनसा चिन्तितमपि सर्वं वेत्स्यति संजयः ॥
नैनं शस्त्राणि भेत्स्यन्ति नैनं बाधिष्यते श्रमः ।
गावल्गणिरयं जीवन्मुखादस्माद्विमोक्ष्यते ॥

A formal beginning of this narrative of war-account, rendered possible by Vyāsa's boon (*vara*) to Saṁjaya, occurs at Bhīṣma chapter 16, st. 7-10 :

नमस्कृत्वा पितुस्तेऽहं पाराशर्याय धीमते ।
यस्य प्रसादाद्दिव्यं मे प्राप्तं ज्ञानमनुत्तमम् ॥
दृष्टिश्चातीन्द्रिया राजन्दूराच्छ्रवणमेव च ।
परचित्तस्य विज्ञानमतीतानागतस्य च ॥
व्युत्थितोत्पत्तिविज्ञानमाकाशे च गतिः सदा ।
शस्त्रैरसङ्गो युद्धेषु वरदानान्महात्मनः ॥
ऋणु मे विस्तरेणेदं विचित्रं परमाद्भुतम् ।
भारतानां महद्युद्धं यथाभूलोमहर्षणम् ॥

From this it should follow that the Cosmographical account in the Bhīṣmaparvan, chapters 5-13, was not one of the results of Vyāsa's boon.¹ This is evident from the following passages :

यथाप्रज्ञं महाप्राज्ञ भौमान्वक्ष्यामि ते गुणान् । (5. 9)
तत्ते वर्षं प्रवक्ष्यामि यथाश्रुतमरिंदम । (10. 9)
अवशिष्टेषु वर्षेषु वक्ष्यामि मनुजेश्वर ।
यथाश्रुतं महाराज तदव्यग्रमनाः ऋणु ॥ (13. 16)
परिमण्डलो महाराज स्वर्भानुः श्रूयते ग्रहः । (43. 40)
षष्टिमाहुः शतान्यस्य बुधाः पौराणिकास्तथा । (13. 41)

¹ This may be true also of chapters 61-64, the Viśvopākhyāna, which Saṁjaya prefaces with the words (61. 32)—

शृणु भूयो यथातत्त्वं यन्मां त्वं परिपृच्छसि ।
कारणं भरतश्रेष्ठ पाण्डवानां जयं प्रति ।
तत्तेऽहं कथयिष्यामि यथाश्रुतमरिंदम ॥

The same should also hold good of most of the following : B 7. 42. 9-19 (account of Jayadratha's penance and boon) ; B 7. 55-71 (Śoḍaśarājakiya) ; B 7. 92. 45-52 (Varuṇa's boon to Śrutāyudha) ; B 7. 144 (Sātyaki's birth and the boon his father secured for him). In B 7. 181, old stories about Jarāsaṁdha, Ekalavya and Śiśupāla are given as part of the actual conversation on the battlefield between Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna.

The only passage that would apparently contradict the united testimony of the above passages is the following concluding line (13. 57) :

यथादृष्टं (*v. l.* यथोद्दिष्टं) मया प्रोक्तं सनिर्याणमिदं जगत् ।

where *dṛṣṭam* can be understood in the sense of 'studied'.

The wording of 6. 2. 9-12 and of 6. 16. 7-10 (quoted above) would *prima facie* suggest that, without moving from Dhṛtarāṣṭra's chamber, it could have been possible for Samjaya to give to the blind old Dhṛtarāṣṭra so-to-say a "running commentary" of the battle as it was going on in the Kurukṣetra from day to day and hour to hour ; but that is not what Samjaya does. He himself actually goes to the battlefield, watches and even personally takes part in the varied incidents of the war, and then returns to Dhṛtarāṣṭra at Hāstinapura to deliver his report. Hundreds of passages could be cited in support of the above. I give below only a short selection taken from various parvans :

From the Bhīṣmaparvan—

तद्दृष्ट्वा तावकं सैन्यं विद्रुतं शिबिरं प्रति ।

मम प्राक्रोशतो राजस्तथा देवव्रतस्य च ॥

युध्यध्वं मा पलायध्वं, मायैषा राक्षसी रणे ।

घटोत्कचप्रयुक्तेति नातिष्ठन्त विमोहिताः ॥ (91. 43-44)

वर्यं श्वेतदयाङ्गीताः कुन्तीपुत्राद्धनंजयात् ।

पीड्यमानाः शितैः शस्त्रैः प्रद्रवाम महारणात् ॥ (114. 75)

हतप्रवीराश्च वर्यं निकृत्ताश्च शितैः शरैः ।

कर्तव्यं नाभिजानीमो निर्जिताः सद्यसाचिना ॥ (114. 106)

From the Dronaparvan—

वर्यं परमसंहृष्टाः पाण्डवाः शोककर्षिताः ।

सौभद्रे निहते राजसूयहारमकुर्महि ॥ (33. 21)

वर्यं तु प्रवरं हत्वा तेषां तैः शरपीडिताः ।

निवेशायाभ्युपायामः सायाह्ने रुधिरोक्षिताः ॥ (50. 1)

स्वकेनाहमनीकेन संनद्धः कवचावृतः ।

चतुःशतैर्महेष्वासैश्चेकितानमवारयम् ॥ (95. 41)

नापश्याम रजो भौमं कश्मलेनाभिसंवृताः । (154. 24)

दुर्योधनस्य शकुनेर्मम दुःशासनस्य च ।

रात्रौ रात्रौ भवत्येषा नित्यमेव समर्थना ॥ (182. 20)

संप्रामाद्विनितृत्तानां सर्वेषां नो विशां पते ।

रात्रौ कुरुकुलश्रेष्ठ मन्त्रोऽयं समजायत ॥ (183. 4)

ब्रह्मलोकगते द्रोणे धृष्टद्युम्ने च मोहिते ।

वयमेव तदाद्राक्ष्म पञ्च मानुषयोनयः ॥ (192. 56)

From the Karnaparvan—

अपश्याम रणे तत्र भ्रात्र्यमाणान्हयोत्तमान् । (24. 65)

दृष्ट्वा मम महाराज तौ समेतौ महारथौ ।

आसीदुद्धिः कथं युद्धमेतदद्य भविष्यति ॥ (51. 24)

अपश्याम रणे द्रौणि व्यात्ताननमिवान्तकम् । (64. 7)

From the Salyaparvan—

अस्मानापततश्चापि दृष्ट्वा पार्था महारथाः ।

अभ्यवर्तन्त वेगेन जयगृह्णाः प्रहारिणः ॥ (18. 36)

परिक्षीणायुधान्दृष्ट्वा तानहं परिवारितान् ।

...

आत्मना पञ्चमोऽयुध्यं पाञ्चालस्य बलेन ह ॥ (25. 52)

जीवग्राहमगृह्णन्मां मूर्छितं पतितं भुवि ॥ (25. 58)

तस्मै तदहमाचक्षे सर्वं प्रत्यक्षदर्शिवान् । (29. 47)

इति प्रस्थानकाले मां कृष्णद्वैपायनोऽब्रवीत् ॥ (29. 48)

संरम्भाश्रुपरीताभ्यां नेत्राभ्यामभिवीक्ष्य माम् । (64. 5)

There cannot, therefore, arise any question of Samjaya being closeted with Dhrtarastra throughout the duration of the war. In fact, upon second thought, it should have been clear from the very wording of Vyasa's boon that it was never intended that Samjaya was not to visit the battlefield. Where was the point otherwise of granting him immunity from wounds and death, power to withstand fatigue, and ability to sail through aerial regions? From another point of view, the Author of the Mahābhārata could not have wished that all his graphic account of the war should pass down to posterity as an account given by one who never as much as visited the actual scene on the spot. Samjaya

is hence correctly conceived as an active combatant as well as a "special war-correspondent" who, by reason of Vyāsa's boon, was able to secure all the advantages that an expert army of camera-men, radios, specially chartered aeroplanes and television would give to his twentieth-century prototypes. He was in fact more favoured than these in certain respects. He could accurately reproduce the thoughts (*manasā cintitam api*) of others :

अचिन्त्यदमेयात्मा । (6. 55. 66ff.)

अचिन्त्यद्वेणे वीरो । (6. 114. 30ff.)

He could visualize gods, gandharvas and divine sages ; ghosts, goblins and sprites ; and even the souls of the dead mounting heavenwards. He could hear, as an invisible third party, whatever was confidentially uttered between two persons, even though situated at a distance from him. He could hear voices in heaven heard only by privileged persons. The following passages can be cited as evidence :

अथ देवाः सगन्धर्वाः पितरश्च जनेश्वर ।

सिद्धचारणसंघाश्च समीयुस्ते दिदक्षया ॥

ऋषयश्च महाभागाः पुरस्कृत्य शतक्रतुम् ।

समीयुस्तत्र सहिता द्रष्टुं तद्वैशसं महत् ॥ (6. 41. 4-5)

तत्र देवाः सगन्धर्वाश्चारणाश्च सहर्षिभिः ।

अन्योन्यं प्रत्यभाषन्त तयोर्दृष्ट्वा पराक्रमम् ॥ (6. 48. 62)

देवदानवगन्धर्वाः पिशाचोरगराक्षसाः ।

साधु साध्विति राजेन्द्र फल्गुनं प्रत्यपूजयन् ॥ (6. 54. 5)

ऋषयो वसवश्चैव वियत्स्था भीष्ममनुवन् ॥ (6. 114. 35^{ad})

न च तच्छुश्रुवे कश्चित्तेषां संवदतां नृप ।

ऋते भीष्मं महाबाहुं मां चापि मुनितेजसा ॥ (6. 114. 38)

अन्तरिक्षे च शुश्राव दिव्यां वाचं समन्ततः ॥

कथं महात्मा गाङ्गेयः सर्वशस्त्रभृतां वरः ।

कालं कर्ता नरव्याघ्रः संप्राप्ते दक्षिणायने ॥ (6. 114. 87^{ad}-88^{ad})

तत्र देवास्त्वभाषन्त चारणाश्च समागतः ।

एतदन्ताः समूहा वै भविष्यन्ति महीतले ॥ (B 7. 124. 10)

तं सिद्धगन्धर्वपिशाचसंघा

नागाः सुपर्णाः पितरो वयांसि ।

रक्षोगणा भूतगणाश्च द्रौणि-

मपूजयन्त्सरसः सुराश्च ॥ (B 7. 156. 190)

नागाः सयक्षोरगर्किनराश्च

• हृष्टा दिविस्था जगृहुः प्रदीपान् ।

दिग्दैवतेभ्यश्च समापतन्तो-

ऽदृश्यन्त दीपाः समुगन्धितैलाः ॥ (B 7. 163. 14)

तद्देवगन्धर्वसमाकुलं च

यक्षासुरेन्द्राप्सरसां गणैश्च ।

हतैश्च शूरैर्दिवमारुहद्भिः •

रायोधनं दिव्यकल्पं बभूव ॥ (B 7. 163. 34-35)

ततो मायां दारुणामन्तरिक्षे

घोरां भीमां विहितां राक्षसेन ।

अपश्याम लोहिताभ्रप्रकाशां

देदीप्यन्तीमग्निशिखामिवोग्राम् ॥ (B 7. 179. 24)

अहमेव तदाद्राक्षं द्रोणस्य निधनं नृप ।

ऋषेः प्रसादात्कृष्णस्य सत्यवत्याः सुतस्य च ॥ (B 7. 192. 72)

It may also be added that Samjaya is able to describe what Duryodhana said to Bhīṣma in his war-camp (Bhīṣma, chapters 93-94) and what Kṛṣṇa and the Pāṇḍavas said to him in the same place a few days later (*ibid.*, chapter 103). It is too much to suppose that Samjaya actually accompanied the deputation at any rate in the second case. So too, while we are told that after Śalya's fall and Duryodhana's concealment in the water-pool, Samjaya was prevailed upon by 'Aśvatthāman, Kṛpa and Kṛta-varman to return to the Kaurava night-camp (B 9. 29. 63-64):

ते तु मां रथमारोप्य कृपस्य सुपरिष्कृतम् ।

सेनानिवेशमाजग्मुर्हतशेषास्त्रयो रथाः ॥

It is not mentioned that Samjaya accompanied the trio back to the water-pool; and yet he is able to report the exact words that passed, not only between Duryodhana and the trio, but also between the party of hunters who overhear this conversation and Bhīmasena in the Pāṇḍava camp to whom they report it (cf. Śalya 30. 36-49). There is the well-known stanza¹ in the Ādi-parvan (68.39)—

आदित्यचन्द्रावनिलानलौ च

द्यौ भूमिरापौ हृदयं यमश्च ।

¹ Cf. Manu. 8.86; Mṛcchakaṭika 8.24.

अहश्च रात्रिश्च उभे'च संध्ये
धर्मश्च जानाति नरस्य वृत्तम् ॥

And it would almost seem that, by virtue of Vyāsa's boon, Samjaya for the time came very much near claiming a privileged position by the side of these Fourteen Entities!

In Droṇaparvan, chapters 79-81, Samjaya achieves a still more remarkable feat. After lamenting the death of Abhimanyu and having sworn vengeance to be wreaked upon Jayadratha before the sunset of the next day, Arjuna retires for the night after the customary offering to Kṛṣṇa, who had also just then concluded his customary night-offering to God Śiva, and wished "Good Night" to Arjuna. Kṛṣṇa subsequently pays a post-midnight visit to the sleeping Arjuna *during his dream*. In his dream, Arjuna gets up to welcome Kṛṣṇa, and hears words of consolation and advice from him. Kṛṣṇa suggests the use of the *Pāśupata-astra* for the morrow, and the more effectively to ensure its use, proposes an immediate visit of adoration to God Śiva. Thereupon, Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa—the former yet absorbed in his dream—fly to the Mandara mountain and have an audience with that God, who promises the required assistance to Arjuna, whereupon Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa retire to their night-camps. All this dream-land adventure Samjaya witnesses and duly reports to Dhṛtarāṣṭra, himself presumably having performed the trip to the Mandara (the scenery of which he graphically describes) by virtue of his being endowed with the ability to fly at will through aerial space (*ākāśe ca gatiḥ śubhā*).

There are minor miracles without end that Samjaya is able to perform as a consequence of Vyāsa's boon. When, in the thick of the battle, arrows fly in the air in all directions, Samjaya is able to tell Dhṛtarāṣṭra without a moment's hesitation that "Bhīṣma shot seventy-seven arrows against Arjuna, Droṇa twenty-five, Kṛpa fifty, Duryodhana sixty-four, Śalya nine, Jayadratha nine, Śakuni five, and Vikarna ten; to which Arjuna makes his reply by discharging twenty-five arrows against Bhīṣma, nine against Kṛpa, sixty against Droṇa, three against Vikarna, three against Śalya, and five against Duryodhana" (648. 23-28). There is surely something of King Rtu-parṇa's famous trick (*Āraṇyaka* 70)

in all this. What is the nature of this omniscience vouchsafed to Samjaya by sage Vyāsa, and what exactly is its *modus operandi*?

Fortunately for us the Epic does not leave us in any doubt in the matter. The question of the "Divine Eye" comes in for discussion in the Strīparvan. In connection with the *śrāddhas* that were being performed for those that died on the battlefield, Dhṛtarāṣṭra inquires of Yudhiṣṭhira, as to the exact number of the dead, and their respective allocations to the post-mortem regions in accordance with their merit, to which Yudhiṣṭhira gives quick and straight replies. Amazed, Dhṛtarāṣṭra asks (B 11. 26. 18ff.)—

केन ज्ञानबलेनैवं पुत्र पश्यसि सिद्धवत् ।
तन्मे वद महाबाहो श्रोतव्यं यदि वै मया ॥

युधिष्ठिर उवाच ।
निदेशाद्भवतः पूर्वं वने विचरता मया ।
तीर्थयात्राप्रसङ्गेन संप्राप्तोऽयमनुग्रहः ॥
देवर्षिर्लोमशो दृष्टस्ततः प्राप्तोऽस्म्यनुस्मृतिम् ।
दिव्यं चक्षुरपि प्राप्तं ज्ञानयोगेन वै पुरा ॥

There is, I believe, no reference to this in the Āranyakaparvan itself. Also it is easy to suppose that Vyāsa who granted the boon of "Divine Vision" to Samjaya was himself endowed with that Vision. In Strīparvan 14. 3ff, Vyāsa has an occasion to make use of the *Divya-cakṣuḥ* on his own account. The *modus operandi* is there most clearly described—

दिव्येन चक्षुषा पश्यन्मनसा तद्गतेन च ।
सर्वप्राणभृतां भावं स तत्र समबुध्यत ॥

From this it is obvious that when a person makes use of the Eye Divine, his physical eye has to alight upon some object — if the object be at a distance, the mind of course has to be specifically directed to it — and then one has to exercise concentration upon that object, with the result that all the secrets embedded in that object stand out completely revealed to the inward vision of the seer. Thus, for example, Samjaya sees Arjuna plying the Gāṇḍīva bow. He practises concentration and is able to tell how many arrows were discharged by Arjuna at each shot. Samjaya next sees arrows flying towards Arjuna and, by the same process of concentration, he is able to say who dis-

charged how many arrows towards Arjuna. , Again, Samjaya sees Aśvatthāman, Kṛpa and Kṛtavārman issuing from the night-camp. He concentrates upon them and mentally follows their movements to the water-pool, and learns of all the subsequent happenings at that place. Or, Samjaya notices Yudhiṣṭhira, at the time of the *avahāra* on the ninth day, in an anxious and disconsolate mood, and practises concentration upon him long enough to learn of the discussions between Kṛṣṇa and the five Pāṇḍavas, of their subsequent visit to Bhīṣma's night-camp, together with all that happened there. Similarly, Samjaya finds the fighting Bhīṣma displaying all at once a state of attentiveness and learns, through concentration, of the talk that he was having with the heavenly sages; or Samjaya looks at the still form of Droṇa in the chariot, and is able to visualize the passing away of Droṇa's soul heavenwards. After this, we can quite readily understand that it would have been relatively very easy for Samjaya to detect the workings of Ghaṭotkaca's *māyā*. Even the thrilling experience of the night-journey to the Mandara mountain in the company of Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa, mentioned above, can be quite legitimately explained as the outcome of a continued concentration upon Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa, without there being, possibly, any real necessity for Samjaya to himself make the physical trip to the Mandara, quite apart from the question of his being sufficiently equipped to undertake the same. To obtain the best and the most fruitful results, all that is needed is the ability to guess readily and correctly where and when to look for them; and time and again Samjaya is complimented for the possession of this skill or *kauśalya*. Even before Samjaya received the gift of the Eye Divine, Samjaya is found complimented for his extraordinary knowledge and skill in the following words (5. 56. 1ff.):

धृतराष्ट्र उवाच ।

कथं त्वं माधवं वेत्थ सर्वलोकमहेश्वरम् ।

...

संजय उवाच ।

विषया तात जानामि त्रियुगं मधुसूदनम् ।

...

शुद्धभावं गतो भक्त्या शास्त्राद्वेष्टि जनार्दनम् ॥

Compare also B7. 202. 51—

कर्माणि यानि दिव्यानि महादेवस्य धीमतः ।

तानि ते कीर्तयिष्यामि यथाप्रज्ञं यथाश्रुतम् ॥

Now then we are in a position to know why it was necessary for Saṁjaya to personally visit the battlefield. I do not mean to suggest that, in an extreme case, such a visit could not have been altogether dispensed with¹; but the Author of the Mahābhārata, as observed before (p. 314), does not wish it normally so to happen; and we ought to be content to take such things as we find them given. It may be mentioned that there are indications available in the Mahābhārata emphasizing this twofold requirement of the Divine Eye. Compare, for instance (6. 16. 5^{cd})—

प्रत्यक्षं यन्मया दृष्टं दृष्टं योगबलेन च ।

The case of the Viśvarūpadarśana or the Apparition of the Omniform in the Bhagavadgītā, chapter xi, requires to be discussed separately. I do not think that it was in this case at all necessary for Saṁjaya to skulk unseen behind the chariot of Arjuna and obtain from thence a furtive glimpse of the Vision of the Omniform, presuming upon the accidental possession by him of the *Divya-cakṣuḥ* which was pronounced by Lord Kṛṣṇa as the *sine qua non* for it.² If, before the battle actually started, Saṁjaya had been able to notice—let us say—the advance position taken by Arjuna's chariot, and had concentrated upon that phenomenon sufficiently long to find out what was afoot, he could have, in virtue of Vyāsa's boon, heard and seen everything that Arjuna himself heard and saw. The question as to how the gods, demons, gandharvas, and other spectators who are described as trembling in fright before the Lord's Apparition could have visualized the same without the possession of the *Divya-cakṣuḥ* is much too primitive: it is almost like another question that a

¹ It has been probably dispensed with in the case of the conversation under the Āśvattha tree in B 10. 1-5, and particularly in the case of the vision of Śiva and his terrific equipage in B 10. 7.

² Cf. BG. xi. 8—

न तु मां शक्यसे द्रष्टुमनेनैव स्वचक्षुषा ।

दिव्यं ददामि ते चक्षुः ॥

highly inquisitive and precocious child was found to ask as to whether the frightened spectators of some tragic fate overtaking the heroine, introduced on the modern screen, had issued the same tickets for the show as the parents of the child! The fact is that the spectators are intended as a part of the picture, and can have no existence independently of the picture itself.

This *modus operandi* of the *Divyam cakṣuḥ* that we have discovered would adequately explain the precise nature of this "Many-armed, Many-bellied, Many-mouthed and Many-eyed Apparition that incessantly rolls its tongues amongst its blazing rows of teeth". If Arjuna, concentrating his thoughts upon the actual form of the Divine Charioteer present before him, were made to realize for the time the great truth "*Vāsudevaḥ sarvaṁ*" (BG. vii. 19), he could see and feel every atom of that *sarvaṁ* instinct and impressed with the form of Vāsudeva; so that the Vision of the Omniform is nothing but an intellectual summation of these countless Vāsudeva-forms present in every atom of the universe. The summations would of course vary with each change in the contents or constituents of the seer's ideas about Vāsudeva. One of such ideas, for example, relates to the four-armed figure of the Bhāgavata religion, so that Arjuna could have seen a succession of these four-armed figures, with coronets and maces and disks, behind every entity of the universe. This is in effect very much like the *Brahmātmaikyā-pratipatti* of the normal Vedānta Philosophy, which, in Arjuna's case, does not of course lead to immediate Mokṣa or salvation, because the realization that results from the concentration was in this case induced through special dispensation, and was not the effect of the devotee's own unaided endeavour. The case of Samjaya was also exactly similar; for he had obtained the *Divyam cakṣuḥ* not by his innate merit, but through extraneous circumstances, viz. King Dhṛtarāṣṭra's craving for war-news. Hence we find him losing his *Divyam cakṣuḥ* so soon as that purpose is served (B 10. 9. 62) —

¹ This pleasing vision in BG. xi. 17 catches Arjuna's fancy, so that he later asks for a repetition of that four-armed vision in a steadier and more enduring form (xi. 46): "It would be absurd to suppose that Arjuna asked for the four-armed vision and has had to content himself with only the two-armed reality of the Divine Charioteer,

तच्च पुत्रे गते स्वर्गं शोकार्तस्य ममानव ।
ऋषिदत्तं प्रनष्टं तद्विष्यदर्थित्वमद्य वै ॥

He was *śokārta*, and so unable to concentrate with intensity, and there could not ensue the expected realization at the end. Further, Saṁjaya's object in practising concentration upon a given theme or object was the eliciting of all the information concerning that particular object, and not the realization of that One Unchanging Essence underlying all phenomenal existence. In this latter case, the concentration, when perfected, leads to Mokṣa; and being self-acquired, it endures to the end of life, as was the case with Bhīṣma.

If we have correctly grasped all the implications of Saṁjaya's *Divya-cakṣuḥ*, Saṁjaya should have visited the battlefield every day and stayed there as long as possible, so as not to lose sight of anything of importance that was happening anywhere there. What do we actually find him doing? After finishing the Cosmography in Bhīṣma chapter 13, a thirteenth-century Telugu translation of the Mahābhārata tells us that Saṁjaya went to see the events of the war, studied them, and returned after a few days.¹ Our text tells us (6. 14. 1 ff.) that Saṁjaya returned only after the fall of Bhīṣma. This seems very strange. Dhṛtarāṣṭra was most anxious for war-news, and he has absolutely nothing told him for a period of ten whole days after the commencement of the hostilities! So too, when after narrating in detail all the happenings of the first ten days (Bhīṣma, chapters 16-117)—done presumably in one nightly session at a stretch (!)—Saṁjaya returns to the battlefield on the morning of Droṇa's generalship, he again, according to our current Mahābhārata, stays on there for five days, and returns to Dhṛtarāṣṭra, only to convey to him the news of Droṇa's death, which is followed by a communication of the details of the happenings of these five days in another nightly session in Dhṛtarāṣṭra's chamber.² Saṁjaya's

¹ See Introduction to the Bhīṣma, p. OIII. There is nothing corresponding to this in our present Sanskrit text.

² In B 2. 10-11, we are told that the decision to appoint Karṇa in succession to Droṇa was taken in a nightly council continued till late in the midnight (B 8. 11. 4). Saṁjaya's visit must have taken place after this council,

third visit to Dhṛtarāṣṭra in the Hāstinapura palace comes off only after Karna's death two days later (B 8. 2. 1-2)—

हते कर्णे महाराज निशि गावल्गणिस्तदा ।

दीनो ययौ नागपुरमश्वैर्वातसमैर्जवे ॥

स हास्तिनपुरं गत्वा भृशमुद्विग्नचेतनः ।

जगाम धृतराष्ट्रस्य क्षयं प्रक्षीणबान्धवम् ॥

After concluding the narration of the war-events to the end of the seventeenth day of the war in this third narrative session, Samjaya returns to the battlefield, from which it was possible for him to go back to Dhṛtarāṣṭra only on the early morning (*pratyūṣakāla* : B 10. 9. 60) of the nineteenth day, i. e., after the death of Śalya (18th day noon), the conclusion of the mace-fight between Bhīma and Duryodhana (18th day evening), Aśvatthāman's nightly attack on the Pāṇḍava camp, and the passing away of Duryodhana (early hours of the 19th day). Then follows the fourth and final session for the narration of the concluding instalment of war-news.

Every reader of the Mahābhārata as we have it at present must have found the above distribution of Samjaya's war-narrative into these four long-drawn-out sessions extremely unsatisfactory. The available manuscript material, however, offers us no alternative, so that, for a successful way out of the difficulty, we are forced to make an appeal to Higher Criticism. For doing this, fortunately, the MSS. furnish us sufficient data, a part of which will be shortly set forth. The conclusion to be reached is that this idea of Samjaya commencing his tale *in medias res* by proclaiming to Dhṛtarāṣṭra the most fateful news (death of Bhīṣma, Droṇa or Karna) right at the start, and subsequently retelling from the beginning and in proper sequence the events leading up to it, is no more than what may be called a "trick of the trade" of which we might easily recall numerous instances almost every day in the newspapers. This "trick" is first employed in the Bhīṣmaparvan, chapter fourteen, of which chapter fifteen constitutes the natural reaction. Both these chapters, so to say, are *hors d'œuvre*, which should not be at all permitted to affect the actual chronology of the events, seeing that Samjaya's formal narration of the war-events, which he was

empowered to undertake through Vyāsa's favour, commences only with st. 10 of chapter 16, as is proved by the customary initial salutation to the Sage which precedes it. The "trick," has been successfully managed in the Bhīṣmaparvan. It was evidently a later idea superimposed by some latter-day Vyāsaīd upon an original sequential narration day by day. There is, as will be shown below, enough evidence in proof of a very jejune handling of the "trick" in the Droṇa and the Karna parvans.

In the Droṇaparvan, for example, there is not a straight-way allusion to Droṇa's death as the very first piece of news conveyed by Saṁjaya upon his arrival, as was the case in Bhīṣma 14. 1-2. Dhṛtarāṣṭra is content, upon meeting Saṁjaya, to inquire as to what followed immediately upon Bhīṣma's fall five days ago. There is in Saṁjaya's reply a reference to Karna's putting on the war-apparel and mounting the chariot (B 7. 2. 37); to his going out to take his last leave of Bhīṣma (B 7. 3; a repetition of what was already described in 6, chap. 117); to his conference with Duryodhana and his advice to appoint Droṇa as the General (B 7. 4); to Droṇa's anointment and the arrangement of the *vyūhas* (B 7. 6-7), together with his successful onslaught on numerous Pāṇḍava, Pāñcāla, Kekaya and Śrājaya warriors (B 7. 8. 1-29). It is only at B 7. 8. 30 that we are first told —

एवं ह्यमरथः शूरो हत्वा शतसहस्रशः ।
पाण्डवानां रणे योधान्पार्षतेन निपातितः ॥
अक्षौहिणीमभ्यधिकां शूराणामनिवर्तिनाम् ।
निहत्य पश्चाद्भूतिमानगच्छत्परमां गतिम् ॥

Then follows Dhṛtarāṣṭra's lament, which is a weak copy of 6. 15, showing several similarities in words and sentiments, and ending with the self-same series of repetitious questions—

रथमङ्गो बभूवास्य भनुर्वाशीर्यतास्यतः ।
प्रमत्तो वाभवद्रोणस्ततो मृत्युमुपेयिवान् ॥ (B 7. 9. 2).
के नु तं रौद्रकर्माणं युद्धे प्रत्युद्ययु रथाः ॥
के पुरस्तादयुष्यन्त रक्षन्तो द्रोणमन्तिकात् ।
के नु पश्चादवर्तन्त रक्षन्तो दुर्गमां गतिम् ॥ (9. 38)
कश्चित्तेन भवान्मन्वाः क्षत्रिया ज्यजुर्ब्रह्मणे ।
रक्षितारस्ततः शून्ये कश्चित्तेन हतः परैः ॥ (9. 41-42)

and so on and on. In the following chapter, to appear original, the diaskeuast starts questions as to who protected Drona when Yudhisthira, when Bhimasena, when Arjuna, when Sahadeva, when Nakula, when Satyaki, when Dhṛṣṭaketu, when Abhimanyu, when Dhṛṣṭadyumna.....came forward to attack Drona. [The question is rather inapt as regards Abhimanyu !]

The sequential narration of Samjaya commences only from chapter twelve of the Dronaparvan. It seems to me that chapters 8-11 of the Dronaparvan may safely be put down as what I have above called *hors d'œuvre*,¹ a feature, in other words, that falls outside the regular course of the narration.

The trick of beginning a narration *medias in res* by giving the principal item of news right at the start seems to have readily caught the fancy of the redactor. For we find that it is used a second time in the Dronaparvan itself. The news of Abhimanyu's death is conveyed all at once in B 7. 33. 19-21, and then, upon Dhṛtarāṣṭra's query for details, Samjaya says (B 7. 33. 26)—

यन्मां पृच्छसि राजेन्द्र सौभद्रस्य निपातनम् ।

तत्ते कास्त्वेन वक्ष्यामि शृणु राजन्समाहितः ॥

Drona passes away at noon, and his son Aśvatthāman keeps the fight going for the rest of the day. Samjaya meets Dhṛtarāṣṭra at night (B 7. 1. 7)—

शिविरासंजयं प्राप्तं निशि नागाङ्गयं पुरम् ।

आम्बिकेयो महाराज धृतराष्ट्रोऽन्वपृच्छत ॥

and he returns to the field after completing his narration. For two days thereafter Samjaya collects the news and repairs for the third time to Dhṛtarāṣṭra's palace after Karna's death in the evening of the seventeenth day of the battle. Here too Samjaya conveys the news of Karna's death all at once (B 8. 3. 21 = Crit. Ed. 8.3.20)—

¹ I must not fail to mention that the author responsible for this *hors d'œuvre* has taken care, once in a while, to supply words that would strengthen its claim to authenticity. Thus in B 7. 85. 46 Dhṛtarāṣṭra is made to say—

हतौ हि पुरुषव्याघ्रौ भीष्मद्रोणौ त्वमात्मवै ।

This presupposes that Samjaya's narration had started *medias in res*.

स पीडयित्वा पाञ्चालान्पाण्डवांश्च तरस्विनः ।
हत्वा सङ्कल्लो योधानर्जुनेन निपातितः ॥

There follows after this Dhṛtarāṣṭra's usual fusillade of identically worded questions (B 8. 8-9); but there is a slight variation introduced in which Dhṛtarāṣṭra first asks for a list of the living and the dead on either side (B 8. 5-7). In Dhṛtarāṣṭra's series of questions, the author of this late interpolation, it is necessary to point out, has committed a serious blunder. In his report to Dhṛtarāṣṭra about Karna's death, Samjaya had said absolutely nothing as to Śalya being requested to officiate as Karna's charioteer¹; and yet we meet with the following amongst Dhṛtarāṣṭra's questions (B 8. 9. 85, 88)—

दृष्ट्वा विनिहतं कर्णं सारथ्ये रथिनां वरः ।
किमभाषत सौवीरो मद्राणामधिपो बली ॥
मद्राजः कथं शल्यो नियुक्तो रथिनां वरः ।
वैकर्तनस्य सारथ्ये तन्ममाचक्ष्व संजय ॥

The portion of the Karna parvan that can roughly be put down as *hors d'œuvre* is the first nine chapters in the Bombay edition. With B 8. 10 the usual sequential narration begins.

[Incidentally it may be mentioned that B 8. 93 is mostly repetitious of B 9. 3, the same incidents in the self-same words being narrated both in the Karṇaparvan and the Śalyaparvan. The Critical Edition omits them from the Karna parvan on the ground of the concurrent testimony of both the Śāradā and the Malayalam versions.]

Ignoring the evidence of the *hors d'œuvre* passages from the Bhīṣma, Droṇa and Karna parvans, we can therefore conclude that Samjaya went out to the battle-field every day, and after having gathered, with the help of the *Divyacakṣuḥ*, all the available war-news, communicated the same to Dhṛtarāṣṭra normally the same day in a nightly conference. It would be noted of course that Samjaya was not always free to return to Dhṛtarāṣṭra as soon as the *avahāra* or the troop-withdrawal for the day was proclaimed. There were important conferences going on in both the

¹ In Udyoga 8. 26f. there is an allusion to Śalya's promise to Yudhiṣṭhira in the matter; but that is part of Vaiśampāyana's narration to Janamejaya. It was not meant for Dhṛtarāṣṭra's ears.

Kaurava and the Pāṇḍava night-camps of which it was essential that Saṁjaya should obtain the result. In Dronaparvan (B 182. 40), Saṁjaya informs Dhṛtarāṣṭra :

दुर्योधनस्य शकुनेर्मम दुःशासनस्य च ।
रात्रौ रात्रौ भवत्येषा नित्यमेव समर्थना ॥

Compare also B 7. 183. 4ff.—

संप्रामाद्विनिवृत्तानां सर्वेषां नो विशां पते ।
रात्रौ कुरुकुलश्रेष्ठ मन्त्रोऽयं समजायत ॥
प्रभातमात्रे श्वोभूते केशवायार्जुनाय वा ।
शक्तिरेषा हि मोक्तव्या ॥

Thus there were many things that would keep Saṁjaya busy on the battlefield or in the night-camps beyond the fighting hours. On the fourteenth day of the battle, the fighting was carried on both day and night, so that Saṁjaya could not have returned that night to Hāstinapura for a conference with Dhṛtarāṣṭra except very late at night. The concluding day of the battle, as we saw above (page 323), was probably another day when Saṁjaya did not return. Barring such exceptions, there would be daily narrations to Dhṛtarāṣṭra of the day's main events. To provide no news of the war to Dhṛtarāṣṭra for days on end would have been so utterly unnatural.

Did Saṁjaya have quick means of travel between the palace of Hāstinapura and the battlefield of Kuruksetra? In one passage (B 8. 2. 1) we are told that Saṁjaya was provided with horses fleet as the wind :

हते कर्णे महाराज निशि गावल्गणित्स्वदा ।
दीनो ययौ नागपुरमधैर्वातसमैर्जवे ॥

The story of Bāhuka (Nala) in the Āraṇyakaparvan (3. 70) is there to tell us how fleet the horses can be. Further, we must not bring in our present-day knowledge of geography to measure the distance between Hāstinapura and Kuruksetra, and estimate the time probably required for two trips per night. We must, in reading a poet's work, take the geography as the poet provides it for us. We do that for Shakespeare¹ : why not do it then for Vyāsa also ?

¹ In *The Winter's Tale*, for instance, Shakespeare gives a coast-line to Bohemia, and speaks of Delphos as an island.

In Drona (Vulgate chapter 85), we have a statement from Dhṛtarāṣṭra to the effect that the distance between his residence and the fighting camps was such that he could easily hear the sounds from the night camps :

किं नु संजय संग्रामे वृत्तं दुर्योधनं प्रति ।
 परिदेवो महानद्य श्रुतो मे नाभिनन्दनम् ॥
 बभूवुर्ये मनोग्राह्याः शब्दाः श्रुतिसुखावहाः ।
 न श्रूयन्तेऽद्य सर्वे ते सैन्धवस्य निवेशने ॥

 निवेशने सत्यधृतेः सोमदत्तस्य संजय ।
 आसीनोऽहं पुरा ताव शब्दमश्रौषमुत्तमम् ॥
 तद्य पुण्यहीनोऽहमार्तस्वरनिनादितम् ।
 निवेशनं गतोऽस्माहं पुत्राणां मम लक्षये ॥

Even conceding to the blind Dhṛtarāṣṭra a more than normal power of audition, the one place is conceived by the poet as being within ear-shot of the other, so that Samjaya's two trips to and fro would not be a problem by any means, not to mention the fact that Samjaya could, in a case of need, travel by air.

The passage above cited is also interesting from another point of view. Dhṛtarāṣṭra here says that TO-DAY (*adya*) he did not hear from the camp the usual sounds of glee, but heard instead pathetic notes of anxiety and dolour. This "to-day" is the day after Abhimanyu's death : the morning of the day the evening of which is to see Jayadratha killed. And yet, if the evidence of the *hors d'œuvre* pieces is to be believed in, this must have been said in the course of the narration during the night following Drona's death, which would make an utter nonsense of the whole thing. The question would, however, be perfect sense if Samjaya finds time, in spite of the night-fighting, or during the break of it, ¹ to go to Dhṛtarāṣṭra a little after Jayadratha's fall, and make his narration of the day's events. Although, therefore, in all our extant MSS. we find these attempts to begin the narrations *medias in res*, Higher Criticism would justify our going beyond

¹ It will be noted that Samjaya was granted immunity from fatigue (*nainam bādhiṣyate śramaḥ*).

and behind the present form of the epic, and weave together a sequential chain of war-events as it must have been in existence before some enthusiastic Vyāsaïd thought of the present clever—rather too clever—device of beginning the narration *medias in res*.

Turning to Samjaya's *Divya-cakṣuḥ* once more, we have already attempted a logical explanation of it, and explained the probable mechanism of its action. Its eventual object must have been of course to strengthen the verisimilitude of the narrations. There must have been a time when even this device of the *Divya-cakṣuḥ* itself, so very effectively employed by the present redactor of the Mahābhārata, might not have been yet thought of, and the fidelity of Samjaya's narration might have been believed in as a matter of course. Of this *Pre-divyacakṣu* stage, we have some evidence and some relics also preserved in the present form of our epic. I shall conclude this long dissertation on Samjaya's "Eye Divine" by briefly discussing this topic.

Samjaya was endowed with this power of Divine Insight only when the battle was imminent and provision had to be made for some method of conveying reliable war-news to the blind old Dhṛtarāṣṭra. Samjaya was a very clever, gifted and resourceful person, and he could have done all that was expected of him even without this miracle of the *Divya-cakṣuḥ*. Samjaya receives from Vyāsa this special gift in 6. 2. 8-12. He could not have had any of the mystic powers consequent upon the possession of this *Divya-cakṣuḥ* before that event. And yet the Udyogaparvan gives some evidence of his having already possessed similar powers, or, at any rate of his having achieved what would not have been possible except through such powers.

In Udyoga chapter 129, there is the description of Kṛṣṇa's Omniform Vision displayed in the Kaurava court, and we are there told :

तं दृष्ट्वा घोरमात्मानं केशवस्य महात्मनः ।
 न्यमीलयन्त नेत्राणि राजानस्त्रस्तचेतसः ॥
 ऋते द्रोणं च भीष्मं च विदुरं च महामतिम् ।
 संजयं च महाभागमृषींश्चैव तपोधनान् ।
 प्रादात्तेषां स भगवान्दिव्यं चक्षुर्जनार्दनः ॥

The effect of this *Divya-çakṣuḥ* granted to Saṁjaya must have been naturally limited to the duration of the Omniform Apparition in the court. It could not have endured longer, as otherwise there would not have remained any necessity for Vyāsa to grant, only a few days later, the same *Divya-çakṣuḥ* to Saṁjaya a second time.

All this being presupposed, how could Saṁjaya have been able to narrate to Dhṛtarāṣṭra, upon being questioned by him, the talk between Kṛṣṇa and Karna detailed in 5.138-141, when the only person present during the talk, besides these two, was Sātyaki, the companion of Kṛṣṇa in the chariot, and perhaps Kṛṣṇa's charioteer? The text runs :

धृतराष्ट्र उवाच ।

किमब्रवीद्रथोपस्थे राधेयं परवीरहा ।

कानि सान्त्वानि गोविन्दः सूतपुत्रे प्रयुक्तवान् ॥

.....

संजय उवाच ।

आनुपूर्व्येण वाक्यानि श्लक्ष्णानि च मृदूनि च ।

.....

यान्यब्रवीदमेयात्मा तानि मे शृणु भारत ॥

.....

.....

इत्युक्त्वा माधवं कर्णः परिष्वज्य च पीडितम् ।

विसर्जितः केशवेन रथोपस्थादवातरत् ॥

ततः स्वरथमास्थाय जाम्बूनदविभूषितम् ।

सहास्माभिर्निवृत्ते राधेयो दीनमानसः ॥

We can possibly get over the difficulty only by our assuming that Saṁjaya might have secured the news directly or indirectly from Karna himself, whom Saṁjaya accompanied after the talk : But this is problematic.

Saṁjaya was of course sent by Dhṛtarāṣṭra as his special messenger to the Pāṇḍavas (5.22-69), who discharges his duty most loyally and whose report is listened to most eagerly by Dhṛtarāṣṭra and others. But even after Saṁjaya had discharged this mission, specially entrusted to him, to the satisfaction of all, as regards other matters also Dhṛtarāṣṭra always—as a matter of habit, it would seem—puts his questions to Saṁjaya (5. 156. 3)—

एहि संजय मे सर्वमाचक्ष्वानवशेषतः ।
सेनानिवेशे यद्वृत्तं कुरुपाण्डवसेनयोः ॥

Hence it is that we find Samjaya narrating to Dhṛtarāṣṭra all the incidents of Ulūka's embassy (5. 157-160), as well as of the open quarrel between Bhīṣma and Karṇa in the Kaurava camp (5.161-169), including the Ambopākhyāna (5. 170-194), which is of the nature of a conversation between Bhīṣma and Duryodhana, although there is no actual statement to the effect that Samjaya was personally present at any of these incidents, particularly the first. It would thus seem that Samjaya always functioned as the official reporter to Dhṛtarāṣṭra : wherever there was any news going, it was for Samjaya to smell it and to ferret it out. What then would have been more natural than to select Samjaya as the chronicler of the war-news during the great Bhārata War? Samjaya did not stand in need of any *Divyāṁ cakṣuḥ* for the exercise of his profession so far. In view, however, of the difficult and large scale operations expected of him during the Great War, we will have to suppose that the device of the *Divyāṁ cakṣuḥ* came in handy ; and the author-redactor of the Mahābhārata granted it to Samjaya all the more readily as that would heighten the author's own reputation for veracity.

REVIEWS

BHARATĪYA-DRAVYAGUṆA-GRANTHAMĀLĀ (in Hindi)
by Śrī Ramesh Bedi, Himalaya Herbal Institute,
Badami Bag, Lahore

Plants have been recognized as friends of men for thousands of years. Every Sanskritist is familiar with the Hymn to Herbs in the *R̥gveda* (X, 97, 15) which recognizes this undying friendship in the following prophetic words :—

“Let Fruitful Plants and fruitless, those that blossom and the blossomless, Urged onward by *Bṛhaspati* release us from our pain and grief”.

The Aryan Medical Science has its germ in this earliest recorded realization of the healing properties of Plants. It is no wonder, therefore, that the entire early medical literature of India should be based on herbal remedies against all diseases diagnosed and treated by our ancient sages.

Though we have been benefited by the medical and nutritive values of plants we are utterly ignorant of these values owing to the absence of authoritative monographs on them in Indian vernaculars or in English. We, therefore, welcome the series of such monographs projected by Śrī Ramesh Bedi in his *Bhāratiya-DravYaguṇa-Granthamālā*, which when completed, will be a veritable *Encyclopaedia of Indian Drugs*, not only in their medical and botanical aspects, but also in their cultural aspects, the history of which has not been studied systematically so far by medical men or students of ancient Indian Culture. So far Śrī Bedi has brought out the following monographs in the above series, which speak volumes for his learning, scholarship, industry and patriotism, not to say his reverence for our Plants, which have been the saviours of mankind from remote antiquity :—

(1) *Triphalā* (2nd edition, Prayag, 1944) Published by the *Vijñāna-Parīṣad*, Prayag, — This monograph deals with the

three myrobalans, *Haritaki*, *Vibhītaka* and *Āmalaka* — A gold medal of Rs. 250 was awarded to Śrī Bedī for this monograph by the All India Āyurveda Conference.—Pp. 8+207, Price Rs. 2-4-0.

(2) *Añjira* (*Ficus Carica*) — *First Edition* published by Vijñāna Paṛiṣad, Prayag, 1943; Pp. 9+42; Price 12 as. — *Second Edition*, pub. by the author, Lahore, 1947; Pp. 88; Price Rupee One (This edition incorporates the history of the Fig recorded by P. K. Gōde in his paper on the Fig., *New Indian Antiquary* 1941, Vol. IV, pp. 125-136.)

(3) *Sonṭh* (*Dry Ginger*) Pub. by the author, 1945, Pp. 55; Price 12 as.

(4) *Tulasī* (*Holy Basil*) Pub. by the author, 1946 with Preface by P. K. Gode; Pp. 167; Price Rs. 2,

(5) *Dehātī Ilāj* (*Household and other Remedies*) Pub. by the author, 1946; Pp. 72; Price Rupee One.

(6) *Lahasun*: *Pyñj* (*Garlic : Onion*) Published by the author with Preface by Dr. G. P. Majumdar, M.Sc., Ph.D.; Pp. 228; Price Rs. 2-8-0

These learned monographs from the pen of Pandit Bedi, a scholar, patriot and a successful practitioner in the Āyurvedic Medicine, written as they are in clear and lucid Hindi, open the treasures of our Ancient Indian Plant Lore to the Indian masses. We fully endorse Dr. Majumdar's suggestion that they should be translated into English and published by some Firm or Organization interested in the publication of books on Indian Culture so that India's contribution to the history of World Sciences would be widely known in the different parts of the globe, now thirsting for greater cultural contact with India than hitherto. The ban on the *Āyurveda* so long put by a foreign government has already been lifted by our National Government but it is necessary for our patriots to know the truths of the *Āyurveda* in all their glory and historical perspective. The *Bhāratiya-Dravya-guṇa-Granthamālā* projected by Pandit Ramesh Bedi and partly executed by him in the form of the published monographs specified above will not fail to broadcast the message of the Āyurveda, so sacred, so thoughtful and so vital to the well-being not

only of the sons of this *Bhāratavarṣa* but also of mankind in general.

The "Himalaya Herbal Institute" founded by Pandit Bedi bears a significant name as the Himalayas have been famous in Indian literature for their wealth of varied herbs of medical value. This belief is not without foundation as will be seen from the interest of the East India Company in the Botanical Science of India and the special efforts made by them to study the Botany of the Himalayan Mountains. In this connection I may refer to the monumental volumes of J. Forbes Royle, M. D. on "*Illustrations of Botany and Other Branches of Natural History of the Himalayan Mountains*" with a special volume of large coloured plates published by W. H. Allen & Co. in London as early as 1839. It is interesting to note that the *Carakasamhitā* describes the conference of sages on the Himalaya mountains to discuss the ills that flesh is heir to and to find out remedies against them (*Sūtrasthāna*, ch. I, verses 6-7). These very Himalaya mountains with their wealth of flora and fauna are even today an object of wonder for the scientists and laymen alike. If *Ayurveda* is to attain Himalayan heights, its protagonists must devote their lives to a scientific study of the Himalayan herbs and at the same time understand the uses of these herbs recorded in our ancient medical texts. Pandit Bedi's *Bhāratiya-Dravyaguṇa-Granthamālā* will, not fail, when completed, to create the needed enthusiasm for such study and understanding in the young generation of educated Indians, who are the inheritors of the great renown of the age-old *Ayurveda* or the science of life.

P. K. Gode

BOOKS RECEIVED

- Advaitaksaramālikā by several scholars, Kamakoti Publishing House, Kumbhakonam, 1946
- Ali Sher Navoi, A Symposium of Articles, by various authors, Academy of Sciences, U.S.S.R. Moscow, Leningrad, 1946.
- On Arabic Manuscripts by Academician, Academy of Sciences, U.S.S.R. Moscow, Leningrad, 1946.
- Āryā Varta-A short History of India, Vol. I, (Persian edition). by Ganga Ram-Samrat, Sann, (Sindh).
- Bibliography of the Published Writings of Prof. P. K. Gode, M.A., Curator, Bhandarkar O. R. Institute, Poona 4, 1947.
- श्रीमद्भगवद्गीतोपनिषद् (हिंदी) डॉ. श्री. रा. देसाई, विज्ञान नौका कार्यालय, जयजी बाजार, ग्वाल्हेर.
- Brahma-Sūtrānubhāgyānuvāda of Śrī Vallabhācārya, Prof. Govindlal A. Bhatt, Baroda, 1946.
- Byzantium and Iran on the verge of the 6th and 7th centuries by N. V. Pizulescaya, Academy of Sciences, U.S.S.R. Moscow, Leningrad, 1946.
- Descriptive Catalogue of Indological Books (Published and Acquired for sale during 1930-46) (on Art, Archæology etc.) Oriental Book Agency, 15, Shukrawar, Poona 2.
- Exhibition of Asiatic Art and Archæology Catalogue, Director, Archæological Survey of India, New Delhi, 1947.
- चौहान-कुलकल्पद्रुम विभाग १-२ (हिंदी) लल्लुभाई भीमभाई देसाई मु. अबुरोड, (राजपुताना), १९२७.
- Chronicle of Muhammad Takhir Al-Karakhi, by Muhammad Takhir, Academy of Sciences, U.S.S.R. Moscow, Leningrad, 1946.
- Compromises in the History of Advaitic Thought by Mm. Prof. Kuppuswami Shastri. The Kuppuswami Shastri Research Institute, Madras, 1946.
- Dāya-Vibhāga : by I. S. Pawate, Dharwar, 1945.
- देहाती इलाज (हिन्दी) श्रीरामेश बेदी, आयुर्वेदालंकार, Himalaya Herbal Institute, Badami Bagh Lahore. 1946.
- History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. III, (Ancient and Mediæval Law) by Mm. Prof. P. V. Kane, M.A., LL.M., Bhandarkar O. R. Institute, Poona, 1946.
- दिव्यदृष्टि-औषधर्म अर्थात् विश्वरूप-दर्शन-योग, (स्कूट प्रकरणांसहित), ले.-डॉ. श्रीधर रामचन्द्र देसाई, विज्ञाननौका कार्यालय, ग्वाल्हेर, १९३७.
- Durghata Vrtti : de Śarapadeva, (in three Fascicules and 4 Books) Vols. I & II, by Louis Renou, Paris, 1940.

“गीतं धृतराष्ट्र उवाच कां” ?

डॉ. श्रीधर रामचन्द्र देसाई, विज्ञान-
नौका कार्यालय, ग्वाल्हेर, १९४६.

गोप हम्पण्णः । by Dr. V. Raghavan,
M.A., Ph.D., Madras, १९४७.

Grammaire Sanskrit Elémén-
taire, by Louis Renou, Adrien
Maisonnette, 11, Rue Saint,
Sulpice, Paris, VI^e, 1946.

Presidential Address, by Prof.
K.A. Nilakanta Shastri, Indian
History Congress, 9th Session,
Patna, University of Madras,
Mylapore, Madras.

The Proceedings of the Indian
History Congress, 9th Session,
Annamalai University,
Annamalainagar, published by
The Gen. Secretary, Indian
History Congress, Allahabad,
1945.

कौमुदीशरदागमः (प्रथमभागः)

श्री अण्णल जोगन्नाशस्त्री, S. S. M.
Press, Vijagapattam, 1942.

La Kāvya Mīmāṃsā, de Rāja-
śekhara. by Nadine Stchoupak
and Louis Renou, Paris, 1946.

श्रीकृष्णका यथार्थ स्वरूप, डॉ. श्री. रा.
‘देसाई, विज्ञान-नौका कार्यालय,
जवाजी बाजार, ग्वाल्हेर.

Dr. C. Kunhan Raja Presenta-
tion Volume, The Adyar
Library, Madras, 1946.

लहसुन व्याज (हिन्दी) श्रीरामेश बेदी
Himalaya Herbal Institute,
Badami Bagh, Lahore, 1947.

Literature Sanskrit, by Prof.
Louis Renou, Adrien Maisonn-
nette, 11, Rue, Saint-Sulpice,
Paris, 1946.

मैथिल-कोकिल, विद्यापति की पदावली
(हिन्दी) शंभुप्रसाद बहुगुणा,
Educational Publishing Co.,
Char Bazar, Lucknow.

Mesopotemia on the verge of the
6th and 7th centuries by N. V.
Pizulescaya, Academy of
Sciences, U. S. S. R. Moscow,
Leningrad, 1949.

मीमांसा प्रकाश Vol. I, Nos. 1-6,
Pt. Wamanshastri Kinjavad-
kar, Gen. Secy. M.G.P. Samiti,
Poona 2, 1936-37.

Origins and Purpose, Empire
Information Service, H. Ms.,
Stationery Office, London, 1946

Poczatki Dramatu Indyjskiego,
a Sprawa Wplywow greckich,
by Andrzej, Gawronski Polska
Akademia Umiejtnosci,
Krakow, Poland, 1946.

La Poesie Religieuse de L'Inde
Antique, by Louis Renou,
Paris, 1942.

Rebellion of Kar Yazidza-Dela
Khasan-in Turkey, by A
Tveritenova, Academy of
Sciences, U. S. S. R., Institute
of Orientology, Moscow and
Leningrad, 1946.

Report of the Superintendent,
Archæological Survey, Burma
for the year 1940-41. Supdt.
Govt. Printing & Stationery,
Burma, Rangoon, 1941.

- Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Cochin State, for the year 1120 M. E. (1944-1945 A. D.), by P. Anujan Achan, Govt. Archaeologist, Trichūr, 1947.
- The Mahabodhi Society of India, "Annual Report for the year 1946, Managing Editor, "The Mahabodhi", College square, Calcutta, 1947.
- Report of the year 1945-46, Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay, 1947.
- 22nd Annual Report of Vishveshārānanda Vedic Research Institute, (for 1945-46), Lahore, 1946.
- The Ethnographical Museum of Sweden, Stockholm, Monographs, Riksmuseets Etnografiska Avdelning, Smärre Meddelanden, by K. G. Lindblom.
- Short Note on Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam, (500 years old), by M. M. Lal, Gauriprasad Saksena, Lucknow (U. P.).
- संजयकी दिव्यदृष्टी, डॉ. श्री. रा. देसाई, विज्ञाननिका कार्यालय, जयजी बाजार, ग्वाल्हेर.
- Smṛticandrikā-Āhnika-kāṇḍa An English Translation with Notes etc., by Prin. J. R. Gharpure, Law College, Poona 4.
- Soviet Orientology, Pts. I, II & III, by various authors Academy of Sciences, U.S.S.R. Moscow, Leningrad, 1940, 1941 & 1945.
- Soviet Symposium, Articles on Meraofrs of Language and Culture, Academy of Sciences, U.S.S.R. Moscow, Leningrad, 1934.
- Svayamātrṇpā: Janua Coeli, by Dr. A. K. Coomarswamy, Reprinted from "Zalmoxis" Vol. II, Pt. 1, Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, Paris VI, 1939.
- Terminologie Grammaticale du Sanskrit" (in three Pts.), by Louis Renou, Paris VIe, 1942.
- तुलसी (हिन्दी) श्रीरामेश (बेदी) Himalaya Herbal Institute, Badami Bagh, Lahore, 1946.
- Materials to the knowledge of Eastern Turki, by Gunnar Jarring, University Library, Lund, Sweden 1946.
- Distribution of Turk-Tribes in Afghanistan by Gunnar Jarring, Pub. by G. W. K. Gleerup University Library, Lund, Sweden. 1939.
- University of Bombay, M. A. & M.Sc, Examination Papers, 1946 Published by Registrar, University of Bombay, 1946.
- University of Calcutta, Calendar (Supplement for 1946) University of Calcutta, 1946.
- University of Mysore, List of Text-Books for Examinations of 1949 and 1950, by D. S. Gordon, Registrar, University of Mysore, 1947.

- Uzbek Texts from Afghan Turkestan, by Gunnar Jarring Publishers—University Library, G. W. K. Gleerup, Lund (Sweden), 1941.
- “Vasant Vilāsa Phāgu”—A Further Study, by Prof. K. B. Vyas, M.A., Elphinstone College, Bombay.
- Vasant Vilāsa, The Revised, Collated Text, by Prof. K. B. Vyas, Reprinted from the “Bhāratiya Vidya” Vol. VIII. Nos. 1-2, Bombay, 1947.
- Vayu, Tell I, by Von Stig Wikander, University Library Lund, Sweden, 1941.
- Cultural History from the Vāyu Purāṇa, by Devendrakumar Rajaram Patil, Deccan College Post-Graduate & Research Institute, Poona, 1946.
- Further Sources of Vijayanagar History (in three Volumes), by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri and Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, Registrar, University of Madras, Triplicane, Madras, 1946.
- Visva-Bharati Annals 1945, Vol. I (Cheena Bhavan), by P. C. Bagchi, The Visva-bhārati Publishing Deptt., Calcutta, 1945.

OBITUARY NOTICES

PRINCIPAL DR. MUHAMMED BAZLUR REHMAN

.. It is with very heavy heart that we have to record that Dr. Muhammed Bazlur Rehman, M.A., Ph.D., Principal, Ismā'il Yūsuf College, Jogeshwari (Bombay), passed away suddenly on Friday, 16th May 1947. By his sad demise the world of Oriental Studies has suffered an irreparable loss. He was a Munshi Fāzil of the Panjab University—that being the highest distinction in Persian conferred by that University. He had imbibed a taste for deep knowledge of Persian Grammar and Rhetoric from his teacher, Prof. Rūhi of the Oriental College. At Cambridge he had the good fortune of being a student of Prof. E. G. Browne, the eminent author of the monumental "History of Persian Language and Literature". From this distinguished Professor, Dr. Rehman learnt all that is characteristic of Western scholarship and research methodology. After his return to India he imparted the knowledge of Persian Arabic, and Urdu, which he had amassed so laboriously, to the students of the Lucknow and the Bombay Universities. His help was unstinted and sympathetic. His students came from all communities, irrespective of caste and creed—Hindus, Muslims, Parsis—boys as well as girls. And all of them got everything that they needed from this great Research Scholar. He secured for them books from different libraries—often at his own expense. He helped his students to proceed to Oxford and Cambridge for further studies and research; and he himself guided, in his own College, some students who subsequently got the doctorate for their thoughtful theses.

Dr. Rehman had been a member of the Regulating Council and the Executive Board of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute for the last several years, and rendered, in that capacity, great service to the cause of Oriental Studies. He had been the Superintendent of the Iranian and Semitic Department of the Institute and spared no pains in making that department perfect

and useful for research scholars. He was associated with several other institutions of learning and research, and, everywhere, he proved a veritable tower of strength to the workers.

The Ismā'il Yūsuf College, Jogeshwari, bears eloquent testimony to, and is a standing proof of, Dr. Rehman's conscientious work, untiring zeal, and keen sense of duty. He literally transformed into genuine gold even the bricks and stones of that College—to say nothing of the students and the staff—by his magic touch, and inspiring and ennobling personality.

In Dr. Rehman, the Bhandarkar Institute has lost a sincere friend and an eminent worker, and Orientology one of her distinguished votaries.

B. D. Verma

PROFESSOR DHARMANANDA KOSAMBI

Death has effaced another name from the scroll of living Orientalists by snatching away Professor Dharmananda Kosambi on 4-6-47, at Wardha. The span of 71 years of Professor Kṛṣṇa's life is a long tale, dotted with romantic episodes, of his tireless pursuit of knowledge. Born in 1876, in a poor family, Śrī Dharmananda left his home at the age of twenty-four. The motive-force behind this exodus was his burning desire to study Sanskrit, and, through it, Buddhism and other systems of Indian philosophy. This desire was fostered in him by his reading of religious literature in Marathi and of essays on social themes by Chiplunkar and others, and by the influence on him of the environments in which he grew. He intensely hated the social distinctions and blind faith prevalent in our country.

From this time onwards, for more than thirty years, Professor Kosambi was incessantly travelling from province to province and from country to country, in search of knowledge. He travelled like a true mendicant through the whole length and breadth of India, storing into his tenacious memory all available atoms of knowledge. He brought to bear upon the study of Buddhistic philosophy, a keen intellect, deep religious faith and ardent devotion. In 1902 he went to Ceylon, then twice to Burma, then to America and other European countries. In Ceylon, he was a disciple of Śrī Sumaṅgalācārya, the profound Pāli scholar, who tried to revive the ancient traditions of learning in Ceylon.

When Professor Kosambi returned to Calcutta, in 1906, after his second visit to Burma, he had already become famous as a profound Pāli Scholar. He now keenly felt the necessity of imparting to others the knowledge of Pāli literature and Buddhistic philosophy, which he had so laboriously amassed. Fortunately, as a result of his untiring efforts, and through the solicitude of his friends in Calcutta, like Harinath De, Manmohan Ghosh, and Satyendranath Thakur, the study of the Pāli language and literature came to be included in the curriculum of the National College

of Calcutta, and Śrī Dharmananda was appointed the first Professor of that subject. He taught Pāli also at the University of Calcutta for a couple of years. The credit of introducing Pāli in Indian Universities thus justly belongs to Professor Kosambi. But mere academic teaching of Pāli and Buddhism was not going to satisfy him. He wanted to raise the moral and intellectual stature of the society by inculcating in the mind of the common man the teaching of Buddha's philosophy. And he got an opportunity to do so through the generosity of Shrimant Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwar of Baroda, who promised to pay him a monthly honorarium of Rs. 50, on the condition that, every year, he produced, in Marathi, one book relating to Pāli and Buddhism. Accordingly Professor Kosambi left Calcutta and returned to Mahārāstra. Through the good offices of Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar he got Pāli introduced also in the University of Bombay. Just at this time a fortunate chance brought him in contact with the eminent American Indologist, Professor Woods. At the latter's instance, Prof. Kosambi went to the University of Harvard, and undertook, on behalf of that University, a critical edition of the *Visuddhimagga*. During his first visit to America he became acquainted with Western critical methodology, as well as with the new thought-currents in the West like Socialism. These latter stood him in good stead in his researches in Indian history and culture. He returned to India in 1912, and, since that time, for five years, he served as a Professor of Pāli in the Fergusson College, Poona. Thereafter, with a view to contacting and collaborating with foreign Buddhist Scholars, Professor Kosambi again left India for America and the U. S. S. R. where he lived for several years.

By this time, his fame as a deep Pāli scholar, as an acute intellectual, as a critical interpreter of Indian culture, and as a profound research worker had already spread all over the scholarly world. He came to be internationally recognised as an authority on Pāli and Buddhism. Professor Kosambi's literary work is done mostly in Marathi. His works include:— His autobiography—निवेदन; numerous articles contributed to various Marathi and English journals; बुद्ध धर्म व संघे; बुद्धलीलासारसंग्रह (in three Vols.); समाधि मार्ग; बौद्धसंघाचा परिचय; भगवान् बुद्धाचें चरित्र; हिंदी संस्कृति व अहिंसा;

Critical editions of *Visuddhimagga* and *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha* together with his own Pāli commentary; and the edition of *Papañcasūdanī*, a commentary on *Majjhimanikāya*, in collaboration with Prof. Woods of the Harvard University. All these works bear ample testimony to his critical acumen, profound scholarship and penetrating intellect. In some of these, he is astonishingly original, as, for instance, in "हिंदी संस्कृति व अहिंसा", where he puts forward his own hypotheses regarding the historical back ground, the glory, and the weak points of Indian culture. Professor Kosambi's place among Buddhist scholars was unique. Most of the Pāli scholars of this generation may be said to have studied at his feet directly or indirectly.

A reference may also be made here to Professor Kosambi's other activities. Between 1922 and 1925, he had been working in the research department of the Gujarāṭa Vidyāpīṭha. Some of his most important writings belong to this period. It was also during this period that he came into very close contact with Mahatma Gandhi. His attention was consequently drawn towards politics. After his return from Soviet Russia in 1930, he could not therefore keep himself aloof from the Satyāgraha movement, which had been then launched. He took active part in the salt agitation campaign, thus showing that he was not merely a solitary reaper in the fields of knowledge but also a responsible and loyal son of his motherland. His views on political affairs were often too weighty to be ignored. In 1937, he founded the *Bahujanavihāra* in the locality of labourers in Bombay, with a view to disseminating, among these classes, true knowledge and spirit of service.

Professor Kosambi was associated with the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute for a very long time and always evinced sympathetic interest in its activities. In him this Institute has lost a sincere friend, Indology an eminent votary, India a distinguished patriot and humanity a true servant.

—Editor

Recently Indological Studies have suffered considerably on account of the deaths of some eminent workers in that field. In Dr. Hirananda Sastri, India has lost an archaeologist of wide experience. After having served with distinction in the Archaeological department of the Government of India, for a number of years, he became the Director of Archaeology in Baroda State. In this latter capacity he persuaded the state to undertake great schemes of archaeological importance, independently or in collaboration with other research institutions. Panditaraja Prof. K. Rama Pisharoti of Cochin, who passed away on 3rd October 1946, was an erudite scholar of Sanskrit and will be always remembered for his work in the field of Sanskrit *Sāhitya*. Professor H. H. Dodwell died in London on 30th October 1946 at the age of 67. He is well known as a Joint Editor of the *Cambridge History of India*, and worked, for some time, as a Professor of Indian History in the London School of Oriental Studies.

—Editor

ŚRĠGARAKALLOLA OF RAYABHATTA

Edited by Prof. N. A. GORE, M.A.

INTRODUCTION

The Manuscript—The text of the *Śrġgarakallola* which is edited for the first time in the following pages, is based on a single Ms. in Govt. Ori. Mss. Library at the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute, bearing the No. 362 of 1895-1898. This is the only Manuscript of the work recorded by Aufrecht in his CC (III. 137). No other Ms. has come to light since then according to the information of Dr. V. Raghavan who is working on the revised and considerably enlarged edition of the *Catalogus Catalogorum*, under the auspices of the Madras University. The importance of this unique Ms. is further enhanced by the fact that it bears the exact date on which it was copied. Though this work was discovered as far back as 1895 A. D. it was prominently brought to the notice of scholars by Prof. P. K. Gode by writing a Paper on it in the *Adyar Library Bulletin* Vol. XI. I offer my grateful thanks to Prof. Gode for kindly suggesting to me that I should edit this work at an early date, and to Dr. R. N. Dandekar for publishing it in the *Annals*.

Its Description :—

Name—*शृङ्गारकलोलं नाम काव्यं* (fol. 11^b).

Author—*रायभट्ट*.

Extent—Foll. 11. fol. 1^a blank except for the word *पुराणी* written by a later hand.

Material—Hand-made paper turned brownish by age; 10 lines on each page, about 35 letters in a line.

Script—Devanāgarī, hand-writing medium-sized, clear.

Scribe—Mukunda.

Date—Bhauma, 9th day of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa, Samvat 1658 = Tuesday, 28th July 1601 A. D. acc. to Indian Ephemerics Vol. 6 p. 6 by Pillai.

Beginning—(fol. 1^b) ॐ ॥ श्रीगणाधिपतये नमः ॥ अनुनयति गिरीशे etc.

End—(fol. 11^b) ० सुकविरेचना कस्य शृषां न धत्ते ॥ १०४ ॥

Colophon—(fol. 11^b) इति श्रीमहाकविपण्डितश्रीमद्रायभट्टकृतं शृङ्गारकलोलं नाम काव्यं संपूर्णं ॥ छ ॥ छ ॥ छ ॥ छ ॥ संवत् १६५८ वर्षे श्रावणशुद्धि ९ भौमे लिखितं सुकुंदेन ॥ श्रीः ॥ छ ॥ श्रीः ॥ छ ॥ श्रीः ॥ छ ॥ श्रीः ॥ छ ॥ श्रीः ॥ छ ॥ श्रीः ॥

The top-margin of 1^b contains the following verse—

[*Annals*, B. O. R. I.]

अधरे नववीटिकानुरागः नयने कज्जलसुज्ज्वलं दुकूलम् ।

इदमाभरणं नितंबिनीनामितरङ्गदूषणमंगदूषणानि ॥ (सुभाषितरत्नभाण्डप्रार

पृ. २५१ श्लो. २९).

In this Ms. व is written for व in most cases. The stanzas are numbered. Upto verse 57, the पदच्छेद or the splitting up of different grammatical forms in a line joined together by rules of *sandhi* is indicated by light vertical strokes between two words and the following symbols are used over the heads of letters as an additional help in splitting up the *sandhis* — ऽ (= अ), ः (= औ), × (= आ), ° (= अनुस्वार), ऊ (= ऊ), ७ or उ (= उ), ८ (= इ), ९ (= आ इ). Red power is rubbed over the numbers of the stanzas. A few letters accidentally omitted are supplied in the side-, top-, or bottom-margins. Yellow pigment is used to score off unwanted letters. Scribal errors which are usually noticed in the other Ms are found in this Ms. also, e. g. the omission of the *visarga* or the *anuvāra* ; णः for णाः, ग्या for ज्ञा, कि for कि, ख for ष, स for श, इ for ई are found in some places. Lacuna — the last two lines of stanzas 90 and 99 are missing.

The Author and his Date— Though the name of the author is nowhere mentioned in the body of the work, the colophon declares it to be the composition of Mahākavi Paṇḍita Rāyabhaṭṭa. As three verses from SK (viz. 15, 27, 34) are quoted in the *Padyavenī* of Venīdatta (about 1650 A. D.) and are specifically ascribed to Rāyabhaṭṭa, there should be no difficulty in accepting the correctness of the ascription of the SK to Rāyabhaṭṭa as given in the colophon. No other work of Rāyabhaṭṭa, has been discovered so far. Prof. Gode has expressed it as his surmise that the *Yatisaṃskāraprayoga* (CC. I. 526) is the work of one Rāyabhaṭṭa who is different from our Rāyabhaṭṭa. As our Rāyabhaṭṭa is styled as *Mahākavi* and *Paṇḍita* in the colophon of the Ms. of the SK, it is quite likely that he must have written some more works besides the SK. I have carefully compared the verse-index of the SK with those of the *Padyāmṛtataraṅgiṇī*, the *Sūktisundara*, the *Vidyākaraśaṣṭakā*, the *Sūktimuktāvalī* and the *Subhāṣita-sarvasva*. But I have not been able to trace any verse from our work in these anthologies. But in the *Subhāṣitaratnabhāṇḍāgāra* (SRB), a voluminous modern anthology of Sanskrit verses, I have found out two verses from the SK, which are different from the three quoted in the *Padyavenī*. Though the SRB must have

entailed its compilers enormous labour, unfortunately its reference value is seriously impaired by the lamentable omission in most cases of the sources of the verses included in it. Therefore it is not possible to say whether the compilers of the SRB took the verses from some Ms. of the SK or from some book in which they occurred as quotations. The first alternative is not very likely, for had they access to a Ms. of the SK, they would have taken over many more verses from this charming and sweet poem. That they had not our Ms. before them is quite certain as the third line of the stz. तमस्तोमः सानं etc. is read differently in the SRB and the SK. They would have laid the scholars under obligation if they had recorded the name of the book from which they culled these two verses, as the fact would have helped us in determining the date of Rāyabhaṭṭa, the author of the SK perhaps more precisely. For the present, however, we might tentatively assign Rāyabhaṭṭa to about the middle of the 16th century A. D., if not to an earlier period, as the Ms. of the SK was copied in 1601 A. D. and his verses are quoted in the *Padhyaveni* of Venidatta who flourished about 1650 A. D.

The work—The SK is a short poem, dealing, as suggested by the first half of the title, with the sentiment of love of both the varieties, *Sambhoga* and *Vipralambha*. The latter half of the title is also significant. *Kallola* means a wave or a billow, and the hundred and one verses (excluding the first two benedictory verses and the last one which expresses the author's estimate of his own work) are like different waves on the ocean of *Śṛṅgāra*. Just as the waves show an identity in difference—individually they are different from one another, but ultimately they are all one being water of the same ocean—the verses of this beautiful poem delineate different situations and feelings and moods of people in love with each other, but they all belong to the same sentiment of *Śṛṅgāra*. The author possesses felicity of phrase and his diction is very well suited to the sentiment. He conceives an interesting situation and knows how to express it in happy words. He expresses the feelings of a shy maiden on the morning after the amorous enjoyment with delicacy and understanding. About sixteen verses refer to a lady who is possessed of self-respect, is offended with her husband (mānini) while about fifteen others depict the feelings of a lady in separation, her plight in the absence of her lover, her eagerness to meet him and the

exquisite joys on reunion. The hypocritical behaviour of a cunning lover who tries to please both of his beloveds at one and the same time is cleverly brought out. The *abhisūrikā* is described in four verses and the charming coyness of a newly-wedded maiden is expressed in three others. A few verses bring out the natural beauty of ladies which requires no adornment or describe the taunt administered by a lady to her insincere female friend who dallied with her own lover. The complaint of a lady who gradually goes down in the estimation of her husband is really pathetic. A perusal of the poem will at once convince the readers that the SK is in no way inferior to the famous *Amaruśataka* and perhaps may have been inspired by it.

Metrical Analysis—The one hundred and four verses in the poem are written in fifteen different metres and the *śārdūlavikrīḍita* is the dominant one in the SK as it is in the *Amaruśataka* also; 52 verses out of 104 are in this metre. All the metres of the SK are indicated below in the alphabetical order and the numbers of the verses which are written in them are shown in brackets just after them.

आर्या (12, 82).	शार्दूलविक्रीडित (2-9, 14, 15, 18,
इन्द्रवज्रा (42).	19, 25-27, 30-32, 34-39,
उद्गीति (80).	43-46, 51, 52, 54-56, 61,
उपजाति (29).	62, 64, 72-75, 77-79, 83,
पुष्पिताग्रा (70).	85, 88, 89, 96, 99-102).
पृथ्वी (49, 50, 57).	
मन्दाक्रान्ता (10, 28, 104).	शिवरिणी (11, 13, 17, 23, 47, 48,
मालिनी (1, 20-22, 40, 41, 63,	53, 58, 68, 71, 90, 95, 103).
65-67, 76, 93, 94).	
बंधस्थ (33).	स्रग्धरा (24).
वसन्ततिलका (60, 69, 84, 86,	स्वागता (16).
91, 92).	हरिणी (59, 81, 87, 97, 98).

I have tried my best to give the text as accurately as possible, but a few obscure passages indicated with a question mark after them still remain and I shall feel obliged to the scholarly readers of the *Annals* if they would favour me with their suggestions and criticism through the Editor, or by writing directly to me to the following address—

C/o Dr. H. G. Moghe, Linking Rd., Khar, Bombay 21.

रायभट्टकृतः

शृङ्गारकलोलः ।

ॐ

श्रीगणाधिपतये नमः ।

अनुनयति गिरीशे^१ द्राक् परावर्तिताङ्गयाः

स्फटिकभवनभित्तौ तन्मुखेन्दुं समीक्ष्य ।

पुनरंभिवलिताया विस्मयस्मेरमुख्या

जयति गिरिसुतायाः कोऽपि दृष्टिप्रसादः ॥ १ ॥

आनम्राः प्रथमं कृतागर्सं^२ इव व्यापारशून्यास्तथा

संरुद्धा इव कीलिता इव विनिर्याताः स्खलन्त्यस्ततः ।

कामारेर्भयभङ्गगुरा इव मुखं स्मेरं स्पृशन्त्यः शनैः

पार्वत्याः स्मरबन्धवो नवपरीहासे दशः पान्तु वः ॥ २ ॥

उद्धृत्यापि पुरः पदं प्रियसखीवाक्यैः कणनूपुरं

नाक्रान्ता गृहदेहलीं नवसुधासिन्धूत्थचन्द्राननां ।

त्रुट्यत्कञ्चुकबन्धनातिविनुमन्मूर्धाशुकापि स्थले

प्राप्ता चेन्मणिबन्धने नववधूः पुण्यैरगण्यैरलम् ॥ ३ ॥

अङ्गैरङ्गसमावृतिं विदधती व्यातन्वती सीत्कृतिं

पश्यन्त्याकुललोचना तत इतः खिद्यन्नखाङ्कं वपुः ।

जालात्तल्पगतां करेण दधती चैलभ्रमाच्चन्द्रिकां

तन्वङ्गी सुरतावसानसमये संसारसारायते ॥ ४ ॥

आकर्ण्य स्थगितं समाकुलमथो धारायितं दृक्पथं^३

प्राप्ते स्फारितमङ्गणं विचलितं किञ्चिद्विशत्यालयम् ।

सान्द्रं^४ स्वान्तिकमागते विनमितं संभाषमाणे प्रिये

दूरादागतवत्यहो मृगदृशो नेत्रं विचित्रायते ॥ ५ ॥

^१ M.B. कृतागम इव, ^२ M.B. पार्वत्या स्म°, ^३ M.B. दृक्पथं, ^४ M.B. सौद्र स्वाति,

आहूता तव नामतो भ्रमवशादित्यस्ति सा कोपना

^१युक्तं सागसि मानिनीन्दुवदने यत्वं मयि प्रेयसि ।

इत्याकर्ण्य वचो विचित्ररचनं स्मेरारना प्रेयसो

हस्तं न्यस्य मुखे सखेलमनयत्कान्ते दृगन्तच्छटाम् ॥ ६ ॥

गात्रं ते तुहिनाग्निलीढनलिनीमूलस्य धत्ते दशा-

मास्येन्दुः करपङ्कजेन विधृतो हा निश्चसन् रोदिति ।

चेतोऽपि द्रुतमन्थकुन्धितदधिक्षोदायते साम्प्रतं

कस्मै चण्डि निवारिताऽपि दयिते कामायमानं व्यधाः ॥ ७ ॥

एतत्कण्टकितं वपुस्तत इतो लूनं विकीर्णाः^२ कचाः

प्रस्विन्नं मुखमण्डलं च नितरां खिन्नासि तन्वि स्फुग्म् ।

संदष्टं गधुपेन दन्तवसनं यद्वन्धुजीवोपमं

त्वं पुष्पावचये गता सखि पुनर्नो निर्वृणस्यान्तिकम् ॥ ८ ॥

उत्कण्ठैकमर्थं तनुं कलयतोः क्लेशेन दीर्घं दिनं

नीत्वा केलिमिलन्मनोरथशतैर्विश्लेषशेषे सति ।

दम्पत्योः सुचिरेण सङ्गमितयोर्विश्वं नवं जानतो-

र्यूनोः कापि विजृम्भते रसभरादाश्लेषसारा रतिः ॥ ९ ॥

वाचां गुम्फैरनुनयपरं हन्त हित्वैव कान्तं

मानव्यूढा युवतिसदसि प्राङ्गणे संनिविष्टा ।

छायां मूर्ध्नः पदकमलयोः प्रापितां तेन तन्वी

दृष्ट्वा तत्र प्रियसहचरं प्रैक्षत स्मेरवक्त्रां ॥ १० ॥

सखि क्रोधावेशादहह दहता पञ्चविशिखं

द्वितं किं लोकानां विहितममुना कामरिपुणा ।

पिशाचो यद्वृत्त्वा हृदयमयमाविश्य रभसा-

दविज्ञातोपायो भुवनमखिलं व्याकुलयति ॥ ११ ॥

^१ Ms. विकिर्णः क°. ^२ Cf. अमरुशतक Stz. 105 (निर्णयसागर edn.).
निःशेषच्युतचन्दनं etc. ^३ उत्कण्ठैकमयां, ^४ Ms. कापि, ^५ Ms. स्मेरवक्त्रां,

मृगमदमपहरसि दृशा मृगमदशिल्पेन कल्पयाकल्पम् ।
 अतुलैव जगति भवती किमिति तुलाकोटिमुद्रहति ॥ १२ ॥
 तमिस्राणां स्तोमाः सपदि समरुन्धन्नुडुपतिं
 कृताक्रोशवेशाजनि वियति तारावलिरपि ।
 सकम्पं हेमाद्रिं विबुधसरिदाश्वासितवती
 ततोऽहं नो जाने कनकलतिका किं पुनरभूत् ॥ १३ ॥
 आयाते मयि नेक्षितं न गदितं संभाषिणि श्रिष्यति
 व्याधूतं नमितं च चुम्बति मुखं तन्व्या सखीनां पुरः ।
 आगस्कारिणि पादयोः प्रणिपतत्युत्थाय यान्त्या कियत्
 प्रेयस्या परिवृत्य वीक्षितमहो तत्केन विस्मर्यते ॥ १४ ॥
 एकाङ्घ्रिं विनिधाय कान्तचरणे तज्जानुदेशेऽपरं
 लीलोदञ्चितमध्यमा करयुगेनावर्ज्य तत्कन्धराम् ।
 वक्षस्तस्य घनोन्नतस्तनभरेणापीडय गाढं रसा-
 दास्यं धन्यतमस्य पूर्णपुलका चन्द्रानना चुम्बति^१ ॥ १५ ॥
 तल्पसीमनि समीक्ष्य शयानां
 मूर्धतो लघु समेत्य विलासी ।
 धापयन्नधरसीधुमपि स्वं
 सखदेऽधरसुधां नववध्वाः ॥ १६ ॥
 तमस्तोमः सोमं गिलति वमतीहोडुनिचयं
 रथाङ्गद्वन्द्वेऽस्मिन्नमरतटिनी खेलति मुहुः ।
 तडिन्नृत्यत्युच्चैर्मधुरतरतारध्वनिरसै-
 र्विपर्येति प्रायो रतिपतिमते सर्वमधुना^३ ॥ १७ ॥

^१ Quoted in the पद्यवेणी (No. 292) as of रायभट्ट, with यान्त्याः for यान्त्या and प्रेयस्याः for प्रेयस्या of our Ms. ^२ Quoted in the पद्यवेणी (No. 311) as of रायभट्ट, with आबध्य for आबर्ज्य of our Ms. ^३ Quoted anonymously in the सुभाषितरत्नभाण्डागार in the section on विपरीतरतक्रिया (p. 335 Stz. 15); the third line there is different : लतायामुत्कम्पो मदनवसती-काञ्चनगिरिः ।

हंसालिः कलनादमश्नति रसादिन्दीवरं नृत्यति

प्रोद्यच्छीकरमम्बुजं मधुलिहां माला मुहुश्चुम्बति ।

शैवालं बिसवल्लिरेति लहरी नित्यं तटं ताडय-

त्यन्तःकम्पितपद्मकोशमनिलो मन्दं समुन्मीलति ॥ १८ ॥

पद्मं मुद्रितषट्पदं समजनि व्याकीर्णतारं नभः

पर्यस्तं तिमिरं च सौधशिखरे लोपं गता कौमुदी ।

कुण्ठः किं च कुहूरवोऽपि विरता भृङ्गावलीशङ्कृतिः

प्रेमाबन्धफलोदयस्य सुभगः कोऽप्येष कालक्रमः ॥ १९ ॥

क्षितितलमतितप्तं कामिनीनामिवान्त-

र्मदनविशिखतीक्ष्णाश्चण्डरोचेर्मयूखाः ।

युवतिकुचकठोराः सुन्दरप्राप्यवाच-

स्तदिह चतुरचित्ते चिन्त्यतां कृत्यभूमा ॥ २० ॥

मन इव रमणीनां वारुणी रागिणीयं

द्वदर्यमिव युवानस्तस्कराः स्वं हरन्ति ।

भवनमिव मदीयं नाथशून्यो हि देश-

स्तव न गमनमीहे पान्थ कामाभिराम ॥ २१ ॥

व्यनमि नयनयुग्मं पक्ष्मपुञ्जैर्वचोऽपि

प्रियसहचरि रुद्धं दन्तवासःकपाटात् ।

श्रवसि सपदि दत्ता चार्गलेवाङ्गुलिभ्यां

मिलति मनसि दुर्गे का गतिर्मानदुर्गे ॥ २२ ॥

करं संरुन्धाना कुटिलनयना कुञ्चितमुखी

नितान्तं कुप्यन्ती वपुरपहरन्ती मुहुरपि ।

नवोढा प्रत्यङ्गं प्रसभमुपगूढेयमधुना

धुनाना मूर्धनं मदनमतिवेलं मदयति ॥ २३ ॥

स्कन्धे विन्यस्य सख्या भुजमपरकरस्यार्धचन्द्रेण मध्यं

विभ्राणा ध्रुयमानस्तनतटवसना गन्धवाहेन मन्दम् ।

पन्थानं दृग्विलासैरिव नल्लिनदलैः श्यामलैरास्तृणन्ती

सौधग्रे कस्य साक्षात् परिणमति तपःसिद्धिरेषा सुवेष्टा ॥२४॥

कान्ते स्वागतमुत्थिता किमु, भवानास्तां, त्वयाप्यास्यतां

मां गच्छ, क नु गम्यते द्रुतमिदं पानीयमानीयते ।

पीतं संप्रति, साधु साधु विजये, सा किं समाहूयते,

ताम्बूलार्थमितीरितैश्चतुरया क्रोपः सनार्थीकृतः ॥ २५ ॥

विभ्राणा करजाङ्कमात्रलिखितं वक्षो विविक्तस्तनं

स्नानान्ते भृतकान्तिरच्छवसनप्रच्छादितांसावधिः ।

सख्या सर्वसुगान्धिसौरभमरंराधूपग्रन्ती कचान्

सृष्टिः कोकनदेक्षणा विजयते कस्यापि मानोरथी ॥ २६ ॥

प्रस्थाने शकुनानि सन्तु सततं भद्रं तवोज्जृम्भता-

मादायेप्सितमाशु तातचरणाम्भोजं समालोकयेः ।

याच्चेऽहं विधिमत्र हन्त जविनामग्रेसराणां मम

प्राणानां प्रिय मा स्म भूत् पथि भवद्विस्लेपलक्ष्मागमः ॥ २७ ॥

वीक्ष्यादर्शं विहितकवरीसंविधाना कराग्रै-

धृत्वा नीवीं विनमितमुखी सर्वतः संघृताङ्गी ।

गोपायन्ती दशनवसनेनोत्तरेणाधराङ्कं

मन्दं मन्दं कथमपि वधूर्निर्गता केलिगंहात् ॥ २८ ॥

वपुर्विभक्तं नवयौवनश्रीः सितं दुकूलं सहजोऽनुरागः

ताम्बूलमास्ये नयनेऽञ्जनं च परिच्छदोऽन्यो धनर्डीण्डमारवः ॥२९॥

एकत्रैव समीक्ष्य सौधशिखरे कान्ते तयोरन्तिकं

गत्वा नव्यशशी न वीक्षित इति व्याहृत्य नेत्याहताम् ।

बाहुभ्यां परिपीडितस्तनभरामुत्कन्धरामुन्नयन्

साच्यानम्रमुखः समुन्नतमुखीमन्यां प्रियश्चुम्बति ॥ ३० ॥

¹ Quoted anonymously in the सुभाषितरत्नभाण्डागार in the section on नायिकादर्शनम् (p. 274, Stz. 34). ² Quoted in the पद्यवर्णी No. (351) as of रायभट्ट, as an illustration of प्रवृत्त्यविवक्षा with प्रः for भूत् of our Ms. 19 [Annals, B. O. B. I.]

एकत्रैव विलोक्य जातु दयिते गत्वा समीपं रसा-

देकस्यां पटवारूपरमसकृद्वाकीर्य तस्यामथ ।

मीलन्यां नयनाम्बुजे करयुगेनोद्गमहासोऽपरा-

मन्तःस्मेरमुखीमुपानतमुखो धूर्तश्चिरं चुम्बति ॥ ३१ ॥

मन्दस्पन्दितपाणिधीरवलयं न्यञ्चत्कफोणिंस्फुर-

द्धस्तन्यस्तसुदर्पणं स्तनतटस्पृष्टप्रकोष्ठान्तरम् ।

संरुद्धाश्रु विडोलतारमचलत्पद्मोन्नमद्भूलतं

चेतः कस्य न हन्त हन्ति ददती बाढा दशोरञ्जनम् ॥ ३२ ॥

पुरो गुरूणां प्रियवाचिकं मुदा

दूती मुहुः शंसति कातरेक्षणा ।

निवेशयन्ती किमु तद्वचोमृतं

कण्डूयते कर्णपुटं कनिष्ठया ॥ ३३ ॥

क्रान्त त्वद्विरहेण हा कवलितेऽप्यापाकरूपाग्निना

मत्सख्या हृदये चिरेण वसतः स्पर्शोऽपि नोष्णस्तव ।

तत् सत्यं मिहिकाभिरङ्ग विधिना नूनं भवान्निर्मित-

स्तच्चित्रं वत नो द्रुतोऽपि यदभूः शाम्येत येनानिलः ॥ ३४ ॥

हस्ताग्रेण मुहुः सखीं प्रणुदतीं द्राक् कूर्परेण घ्नती

याहीति प्रियवादिनीं कुटिलया क्रोधाद् दृशा वीक्षते ।

आनासानमितावगुण्ठनपटी पत्यापि कृष्टा करे

वामाङ्गेन चिरं न मुञ्चति गृहालिन्दं नवोढा वधूः ॥ ३५ ॥

तल्पेऽनल्पविवर्तनानि तनुते हस्तं हृदि न्यस्यति

श्वासं मुञ्चति भाषते प्रियसखीं कण्ठे समालिङ्गति ।

यात्यायाति गृहेऽङ्गणे च कुरुते हिन्दोलिकान्दोलनं

स्वाङ्गैर्भूषितभूषणेति पदबीमालोके प्रेयसः ॥ ३६ ॥

अर्धोन्मीलितशोणपद्मसदृशा तिर्यङ्दृशा वीक्षते
 सोल्लुण्ठं चतुरां सखीमभिमुखीकृत्य प्रियं भाषते ।
 आगोऽपि श्रमितं स्मितेन तनुते प्राणप्रियस्याधुना
 कोपोऽप्येष मनोहरो मृगदृशः कीदृक्प्रसादोदयः ॥ ३७ ॥
 दूरादीक्षितमुन्नतं नमयते नेत्रं प्रयत्नादसौ
 तन्वी रूक्षयते हठेन सहजस्मेरं मुखाम्भोरुहम् ।
 अन्तः प्रेमरसं बहिः कठिनतामाविभ्रती शोभते
 क्षीराब्धेरिव पङ्क्तिरा पुलिनभूर्मानप्रदे नूतने ॥ ३८ ॥
 ध्वान्तः केकितनूरुहैः क्षणरुचिज्वालावलीरुद्रमन्
 चञ्चच्चन्द्रवधूस्फुलिङ्गनिवहः स्नेहप्रवाहाप्लुतः ।
 व्योमव्यापि पयोदधूमपटलः पाथोदकालेऽधुना
 पान्थानां हृदयेन्धनं कवल्यन् कामानलो वर्धते ॥ ३९ ॥
 हृदयमजहतेव प्रेयसा नीयमाना
 तरुणमदनधुर्येणोद्यमानेव तन्वी ।
 अरुणितसकलाशे चानुरागेण गाढे
 स्यमिसरति तमिस्रे हन्त सङ्केतदेशम् ॥ ४० ॥
 अभिकमभिसरन्त्या नीरदानीकिनीभि-
 निर्बिडतरतमिस्रे मार्गमन्वेषयन्त्याः ।
 परपरिचयशङ्कामात्मनो वारयन्त्या-
 स्तडिति युगपदासीत्सख्यवैराभियोगः ॥ ४१ ॥
 सङ्केतदेशं समभिव्रजन्त्याः
 पङ्केरुहाक्ष्या हृदयादिवेत्य ।
 कान्तः पथि ध्वान्तघने प्रियायाः
 प्रत्यङ्गमालिङ्गनमाततान ॥ ४२ ॥

¹ क्षणरुचि, lightning.

² Ms. हृदयेधनं.

³ Ms. अलिकमभि. It must be अभिक, a lover.

रागः कोऽपि तनौ जवान्निविशते नीरं यथा सैकते
 पायं पायमपीक्ष्यै न जहतस्तृष्णां तृषार्तो यथा ।
 चेतो मग्नमिवोत्थितं प्रियतमे प्राप्ते चिरात्प्रोषिते
 किं चेयं विधिना पुनर्वरतनुः सृष्टेव संलक्ष्यते ॥ ४३ ॥
 कृता दूरे पत्युर्नतिविनतिवाचः सशपश्वः
 प्रियाणामालीनामपि न हितवाक्यं विगणितम् ।
 रहस्यं प्राचीनं सपदि पुरतो जल्पति शुके
 कृता सभ्रूभङ्गि स्मितवदनया दृक्परिणतिः ॥ ४४ ॥
 लीलोदञ्चितपाणिपल्लवयुगेनोन्मुच्यं वीटीं शनैः
 किञ्चिन्कुञ्चितनासमानतमुखी सीत्कृत्य कूर्पासकम् ।
 उक्तायार्द्रनखाङ्गलग्नमुरसि व्यातन्वती फूत्कृतिं
 दृष्ट्वाप्रे प्रियमञ्जलेन बलते स्मेराननेन्दुर्वधूः ॥ ४५ ॥
 मा यासीरिति नोदितं न गदितं गन्तासि कुत्रेति वा
 गो वा सायमुपेक्ष्यसीति भणितं प्रस्थातुकामे प्रिये ।
 किन्तुच्छससमीरणैः सह भृशं संमोहयन्त्या घनै-
 रासारैर्नयनाम्बुवाहसलिलैस्तन्व्या कृतं दुर्दिनम् ॥ ४६ ॥
 नवीनं नेपथ्यं मधुरमनुवेलं कलयते
 विवृत्ताङ्गी हित्वा सपदि पदवीं तिष्ठति पुरः ।
 दृगन्तैराहन्ति प्रतिपदमनालक्षितमियं
 मनो मे मीनाक्षी समन्धिकमनङ्गाद्यथयति ॥ ४७ ॥
 पुरो यान्ती मन्दं नवरचितनेपथ्यविधिना
 पथि स्थायं स्थायं सपदि विनमत्यूर्ध्ववपुषा ।
 नमत्पक्ष्मश्रेणीमलघु चलयन्ती दशमसा-
 वकाण्डे वामाक्षी भ्रमयति करेणाङ्घ्रिकटकम् ॥ ४८ ॥

¹ Ms. शसपथाः. ² वीटी, knot of a garment. ³ कूर्पासकं, a sort of bodice worn by women. ⁴ Ms. गणितं. ⁵ Ms. किं. ⁶ Ms. M s. विनमत्यूर्ध्ववपुषा. ऊर्ध्ववपुः = ऊर्ध्वकाय, upper part of the body.

अयं सहजशीतलः कुसुमसौरभैर्मन्थरो

मृदुर्मलयमारुतः सखि न याति यत्र पियः ।

रसालशिखरेषु चेद्वतिपतेर्निर्देशाक्षरं

पठन्ति पिकयूथपाः कथय को नुं गन्तुं क्षमः ॥ ४९ ॥

इहेव मृगलाञ्छनः कथय तत्र नो द्योतते

यदेष मधुयामिनीष्वपि हि नागतो बल्लभः ।

इति श्रमितचेतना विरहिणी यदत्रान्तरे

कुहूरिति समुज्जगावशनिपातवत्कोकिलः ॥ ५० ॥

आनत्या नयनोत्सवो नियमितो मौनेन वाग्विभ्रमः

पाणिभ्यां च कपोलपालिपुलकः कम्पस्तनोः स्तम्भितः ।

आस्तां मानविधौ बहिः कथमपि स्यादभ्युपायो हि कः

स्वान्तस्थं प्रति चेतसः सखि बलादाकारसङ्कोपने ॥ ५१ ॥

बद्धा चेद्भ्रुकुटिर्वरं सुनयने दृष्ट्वा तया वीक्षणं

कार्यश्चेत् कलकण्ठि जातु कलहो वाच्याः कठोरा गिरः ।

काटिन्यं हृदि चेदधासि सरले शय्या कुतः प्रोज्झिता

प्रौढा कुप्यसि चेदलं प्रियतमे कोपः प्रसादावधिः ॥ ५२ ॥

स्तनाभ्यां काटिन्यं सुमुग्धि हृदयं नीतमधुना

दशावाताम्रत्वं दशनवसनेनाधिगमिते ।

भ्रुवो भङ्गिर्भावं कुटिलतरमध्यापि चिकुरैः

कृतामीभिः कोपे तव मदपराधप्रतिकृतिः ॥ ५३ ॥

आलोक्यैव पुरः प्रियं कुटिलता यत्नान्निधेया दृशो-

राभाष्यैव तमागसोऽप्यभिमुखं कार्योऽभियोगः किल ।

आवेश्यैव हृदीश्वरं च हृदये त्याज्योऽनुरोधो यतः

सख्यः कोपकथा कथं प्रियतमे संभाव्यते सुभ्रुवाम् ॥ ५४ ॥

सम्बाधो दयितस्य हन्त हृदि चेत्काटिन्यमालम्बते

नो शक्यः खलु^१ निग्रहोऽपि मनसो राज्ये मनोजन्मनः ।

प्रेमा कीदृश एष यत्प्रियतमे भर्तुः समुद्राव्यते

तन्मां शिक्षयताधुना विदधते मानं कथं योषितं ॥ ५५ ॥

सागस्यन्तिकमागते प्रियतमे कोपेन साकूतया

नो शय्या सुसमीकृता खलु मया नो वासनं कल्पितम् ।

सख्यः किं करवाणि यद्यनुमतौ दत्तं मनोजन्मनः

स्वस्मिन्नेव ममावशेन मनसा तस्मै निवेशस्थलम् ॥ ५६ ॥

स्फुरत्यधरपल्लवश्चलति चारु नासापुटी

कपोलफलकं क्रमादरुणिमानमालम्बते ।

उदञ्चति न च स्मितं त्यजति नालिकं भ्रूलता

नतभ्रुवि विजृम्भते कलय कोऽपि कोपक्रमः ॥ ५७ ॥

न विस्मर्तुं शक्यं तदिह लुलिते कुन्तलभरे

कले काञ्चीदाम्निं त्रुटिवति च माल्येऽपि गलिते ।

भजन्ती पुंभावं रतिरभसमुन्नीतचिकुरा

मुहुः कान्ता कर्णे शिथिलमवतंसं यदसजत् ॥ ५८ ॥

अचिरमुदयत्पुंभावाया रसाकुलचेतसः

सपदि शिथिले काञ्चीदाम्निं श्लथेऽप्यवतंसके ।

श्रवसि जघने वारंवारं करस्य समागमः

सुरतरभसे नूनं विप्रो महान् युवतेरभूत् ॥ ५९ ॥

तस्याः शिवं श्रसिति गात्रमदर्शि रूपं

दृष्टं नु संचरति निःश्रसितानि यान्ति ।

निद्राति सा निमिषति प्रतिव्यक्ति नाथे-

त्यालीर्वदत्यवति जीवमसौ त्वमेव ॥ ६० ॥

लावण्ये परिनिष्ठितं वपुरभूभिद्रा निमेषावधिः

संचारः श्रसितेषु पर्यवासितः सार्द्रस्वमक्षणोः स्थितम् ।

विश्लेषे तव कान्त कातरदृशोर्दोःस्थं कियद्वर्ण्यतां

स्वावस्थां सुतनोर्विधातुमतनोर्मन्ये महानुद्यमः ॥ ६१ ॥

विश्लेषे मदनाभिराम भवतस्तस्याः कथं वर्ण्यते-

ऽवस्था संप्रति पञ्चभूतनिवहे क्षोणी तु नालक्ष्यते ।

नीरं चेत्युगे व्यवस्थितमभूदग्निः स्वभावस्तनोः

आसा एव समीरणः समभवन्नङ्गानि चासन्नमः ॥ ६२ ॥

यदवधि हूतमन्तः कामकान्त त्वयास्या-

स्तदवधि कमनीयं बुध्यते नाम नार्थम् ।

विनिमयमपि चेतः स्वस्य चेदस्य दद्याः

सुचरित चरितार्था तावता सारसाक्षी ॥ ६३ ॥

रज्येते मनसा सहैव नयने साकं च धृत्या भ्रुवौ

भज्येते रदनच्छदोऽपि सहितो नेत्राञ्चलैर्नृत्यति ।

नासा चाङ्गरुहैः प्रहृष्यति समं कोऽपि प्रपञ्चोऽधुना

प्रेयस्याः प्रथमागसि प्रियतमे रम्यः समुज्जृम्भते ॥ ६४ ॥

भुवनमदन दूत्यां त्वद्गुणौघं वदन्त्या-

मतिरतिपति तस्याः सारसाक्ष्याः समक्षम् ।

सपदि सममुदीतः कर्णपीयूषवर्षी

रहसि सहचरीणां छोटिकानां निनादः ॥ ६५ ॥

सुभग तव कथायां श्रोत्रपान्थीकृतायां

समुदयति सुमुख्या जृम्भिते साङ्गभङ्गे ।

स्तिमितमलसमीपन्मीलितं कोणशोणं

नयननलिनयुगलं कामवस्थां न तेने ॥ ६६ ॥

¹ Cf. अनुविषसं पस्तीयसेऽङ्गेः । केवलं लावण्यमयी छाया त्वां न मुञ्चति । *Sakuntala*
3. 8. 23. ² Ms. यद्विधिः. ⁴ Ms. °हन°. ³ Ms. त्वद्गुणौघं व°,

प्रणियिनि परिहासं काप्यवाक्षीदिह त्वा-

मिति कुमतिमवाक्षीराविलाक्षी किमसैः ।

सपदि किमु न पृच्छेः सारसाक्षीमर्मथ

वदतु मम समक्षं सारसाक्षी मनोजः ॥ ६७ ॥

अभूदेकं चेतः प्रथममथ नूनं विनिमेष-

स्तयोरासीत् पश्चादजनिषि पराम्यः प्रियतमा ।

इदानीं मान्याहं वत सकलगेहव्यवहृता-

वमी प्राणाः पापाः स्फुटमनुभवन्तु स्थितिफलम् ॥ ६८ ॥

विज्ञापयामि कृपणा भवतोऽनवद्या

विद्यास्ति कापि परकायनिवेशसिद्धेः ।

मह्यं प्रयच्छ करुणाकर काममेनां

शिष्यास्मि नाथ तव पादयुगं प्रपन्ना ॥ ६९ ॥

पिनमितवदना पुरो गुरूणां

हसितमुखीसखीषु साभ्यसूया ।

विनिहितहृदया प्रिये नताङ्गी,

विलसति नूतनसङ्गमप्रभाते ॥ ७० ॥

पुरा भस्मानङ्गो हरनयनदीपेन यदभू-

दयीदानीं दीपादुदयति तदवाञ्जनमिषात् ।

स्फुटं तस्यासङ्गाद्युवजनमनोमोहनविधौ

दृगन्तैः कान्तानां वत सपदि बद्धः परिकरः ॥ ७१ ॥

आयातो दयितः प्रसाधय तनुं मुञ्चाधुना शैशवं

धैर्यं धत्स्व सरोरुहाक्षि शयनागारं समावेक्षसे ।

बाला सेति पुरन्ध्रभिर्निगदिता नोवाच किञ्चित्तादा

कर्णं केवलमेव वामनयना कण्डूयमाना स्थिता ॥ ७२ ॥

नो शय्या नलिनीदलैर्विरचिता द्राक्षुर्मुखाशङ्कया
 कण्ठे भारभियानया विसलताहारेऽपि नारोपितः ।
 भीतेयं मलयानिलान्मलयजेनालिप्य नोद्वीजिता
 हा कष्टं दवथुव्यथा मृमदृशो मेऽद्यापनेया कथम् ॥ ७३ ॥
 मल्लीदाम कचेषु मूर्धनि मृणालाग्रं ललाटे छदं
 शोणाब्जस्य गलेऽसिताम्बुजदलं पाटीरलेपं तनौ ।
 विभ्राणो विसवल्लरीं च हृदये तद्वीतिहेतोरहं
 हा कष्टं कुपितेन तेन निहतो वैरानुबन्धादिह ॥ ७४ ॥
 पाणिभ्यां परिमृज्य किं नयनयो रागः समार्थयते
 प्रच्छाद्यैव तदङ्गरागपटलीं सङ्गोऽपि किं गोप्यते ।
 प्रेयस्यञ्जनरञ्जिताधरपुटीमेवोचितां लक्ष्मणो
 लक्ष्मीं संजनयत्यतीव कितव व्यक्तां मुखेन्दो तव ॥ ७५ ॥
 उषसि रहसि कान्ता स्वान्तिके कान्तमेतं
 विहितविनयवेषं सर्वतः संवृताङ्गम् ।
 चटुवचनपट्टकिं वीक्षि दक्षा, मृगाक्षी-
 मियमिलदुपचारा दर्पणेनोपतस्थे (?) ॥ ७६ ॥
 मा स्पर्शं पदयोर्ममाचर शठाचाराधुना त्वं मुधा
 दूरेऽपत्रप याहि किं वितनुषे स्वाकारसंगोपनम् ।
 एतत्पश्य तदङ्गसङ्गजनितश्यामाङ्गमार्स्यं तव
 दृष्ट्वा जातवृणो द्रुतं द्विजपतिः प्रत्यगिरं प्रस्थितः ॥ ७७ ॥
 वक्त्रस्य प्रतिबिम्ब एष भवतो दोषाकरस्येति य-
 न्मन्यन्ते कवयस्तथैव तदिति प्रायो मया निश्चितम् ।
 नैवं चेत्कथमन्यथा सितरुचेः पीयूषरश्मेरिदं
 मत्संतापकरं विधोरनुचितं स्यादाङ्गनं लाञ्छनम् ॥ ७८ ॥

¹ Ms. मेधायनेया.

² Ms. ओणाज्वस्य.

³ Ms. नयनये रागः.

⁴ Ms. माल्यं.

⁵ Ms. द्रष्टुं.

अंत्यस्या मलिनाङ्गलस्य नयनाम्भोजस्य सङ्गादभू-

देतस्यास्य कुमुद्वत्सीसहचरस्येदं कथं लाञ्छनम् ।

इत्थं जातविकथनो गतरुचिः सिन्धौ सुबन्धोरयं

नूनं मज्जति लज्जया द्विजपतिर्निस्त्रिंश पश्याधुना ॥ ७९ ॥

प्रज्वलति विरहदहने मा वीजय तालकृन्तेन ।

मुग्धे विधूयमाना समधिकमेवैधतेऽनलज्वाला ॥ ८० ॥

कुसुमविशिखश्चेतो जन्मा ममेति गर्तः श्रुतिं

प्रलयदहनप्रायः कस्मादभूदिदं मद्भुतम् ।

विदितममरं मत्वाद्यापि क्रुधा प्रदहत्यमुं

त्रिपुरमथनो नूनं नेत्रज्वलज्ज्वलनोच्चयैः ॥ ८१ ॥

तस्याः संप्रति देहं विरहे दहने दहत्युच्चैः ।

कान्तं भवन्तमवन्तं नोज्झति भीत्येव विद्रुतं चेतः ॥ ८२ ॥

तापं प्रापयतां तनोतुं तनुतां कामं तु कामस्तनो-

र्थिच्छेषं सहते हि या क्षणमपि प्राणाधिकप्रेयसः ।

न प्रेयांसममुष्ण्यमञ्चदधुना नित्यं तदासङ्गि यत्

पापस्तापयते कथं सखि मनो नूनं मनोभूरिदम् ॥ ८३ ॥

नाथ त्वदीयविरहे विषमे मृगाक्ष्याः

पुष्पाशुगप्रबलवह्निविदह्यमानम् ।

नो मुञ्चतु प्रचुरलोचनवारिपूरं

स्नेहेन हन्त वपुरिन्धनमार्द्रमस्याः ॥ ८४ ॥

एकेनैव शरेण हन्त हृदयं हन्यात् स्मरश्चेत्तदा

प्रेयस्या विरहे सुखेन निरियुः प्राणाः कृतार्था इमे ।

ओतप्रोतमनन्तरैरिह शरैर्यन्मे विधत्ते वपु-

निर्यातुं प्रभवन्त्यमी न हि पथोऽभावात्ततः संप्रति ॥ ८५ ॥

¹ Ms. नयनाम्भोजसंगा. Emendation required by exigency of metre.

² Ms. नेत्रज्वाला. ³ Ms. गतश्रुति. ⁴ Ms. मधुविहमद्भुतं. ⁵ Ms. मपरमत्ता.

⁶ Ms. तनुत. ⁷ Ms. सुखेनिरियुः. Emendation, metre causa.

सागस्यपि प्रियतमे^१ सक्थिं समेते
 धन्ये शुभोदयिनि दत्तपदापि माने ।
 पारावतं प्रणयिनीमभितो भ्रमन्तं
 कान्ता कलकणितगर्भगलं ददर्श ॥ ८६ ॥
 प्रथमविहिते मानेऽधीतं सखीमुखतो यथा
 प्रणयवचनप्रत्याख्यानं विधाय तथैव सा ।
 प्रथयति परामुक्तिं कान्ते कपोलतलोर्लस-
 त्पुलकमुकुलौ स्मेरं स्मेरं सखीमुखमीक्षते ॥ ८७ ॥
 अद्यास्तु प्रतिरोमकूपमिश्रुभिः कीर्णं पुनः कौसुमैः
 क्रोधाद्वा खयमेव धावतु धनुस्तूणीरशेषः स्मरः ।
 आप्रत्यूषमपि प्रयातु रजनीं कान्ताङ्गसङ्गं विना
 हे सख्यः शृणुताधुना परिकरो मानाय बद्धो मया ॥ ८८ ॥
 शून्येऽस्मिञ्छयनं भजेति वचनैरालीजने प्रस्थिते
 बाला तत्र समागते प्रियतमे संभाषमाणे सति ।
 नोचे किञ्चन नोत्थिता न वलिता निद्राश्लथेन स्थिता
 किन्तु प्रोत्थितगण्डपालिपुलकैरावेदिता केवलम् ॥ ८९ ॥
 श्लथा भूयो भूयो भवति रशना बन्धनविधौ
 न साम्यं लेखानामजनि मकरीपत्रलिखने^२ ।

.....

..... ॥ ९० ॥

रोमाङ्कुरोद्गमवति स्तनशातकुम्भ-
 कुम्भे कथंचिदपि मत्रविधिं समाप्य ।
 रत्युत्सवाय सुदृशो हृदये निधातुं
 हारं प्रियः करगतागतमाततान ॥ ९१ ॥

^१ Ms. प्रियते. ^२ Ms. ०दलं. ^३ Ms. तथैव प्रथयति. Emendation, *metre causa*. ^४ Ms. कपोलतलोलसत्तु°. ^५ Ms. स्मेरं only once.

^६ Ms. °शेष स्मरः. ^७ 3rd and 4th lines are missing in the Ms.

नेपालिकामकुलवञ्जुलदामहस्ता-

भालीं विलोक्य कुपितेन वधूर्वभाषे ।

का प्रीतिरस्ति सखि ते कलिकावचाये

पुष्पं नम्रमरसौष्पकृतो हिधर्यः (?) ॥ ९२ ॥

सधिनयमनुनीतानागसि प्राणनाथे

मयि न भजसि भावं भामिनी कस्य हेतोः ।

अतिरति तव रूपं वीक्ष्य मुग्धो भवत्स्यां

भवति शिथिलमुष्टिः प्रायशः पुष्पधन्वा ॥ ९३ ॥

अयि भजसि रतीशं वामनेत्रे किमित्थं

तदिषुभिरवशाहं त्वं तु तेनार्दितोऽपि ।

कितव न रतिमेतामुज्झसि ब्रूहि कस्मा-

दिति विलसति यूनोः कोऽपि गोष्ठीविनोदः ॥ ९४ ॥

उदस्राक्षीः पूर्वं दयितमुपनीतं बत पदो-

रुदस्राक्षी हित्वा श्रुतमथ विलक्षीभवसि किम् ।

मम स्राक्षीद्रामानयनविधना चेत्प्रियतमं

किमस्राक्षीद्वेषाः स्मरमपि न तत्र प्रतिभुवम् (?) ॥ ९५ ॥

नासाकर्णविभूषणं मरकतैः कृत्वा त्रिषं गण्डयो-

रादर्शं मुहुरीक्षते मृगमदैः^१ पट्टीं विधत्तेऽलिकं^२ ।

वारंवारमुपैति याति शनकैरावृत्य नीलाम्बरं

व्याधरेरितिरौत्रिमेव तरुणी निन्येऽभिसारे नवे ॥ ९६ ॥

प्रकुपितसखीवेषं कृत्वा कचिद्रहसि स्थितं

प्रियसहचरीभ्रान्त्या कान्तं प्रसादयितुं गता ।

^१ Ms. °मदे पट्टी.

^२ अलिकं, forehead.

^३ Ms. व्यापारगति°.

प्रणयवचनैर्गाढाश्लेषैर्हठाकारिचुम्बनै

रमयतितमां मुग्धा धन्यं दृढापि दृढे वधूः ॥ ९७ ॥

विरहसमये ध्यानावेशादभूदितरेतरं

दयितव्यमयोर्नूनं यूनाः स्वभावविपर्ययः ।

सधदि मिलने जातेऽर्पामौ चिराय तथा स्थिता-

वपि विनिमयं संजानीतो यदा प्रकृतं रतम् ॥ ९८ ॥

आत्मा चेद्भवती कथं नु नयनाद्यानन्दसान्द्रोत्सव-

स्तस्मात्त्वं बहिरन्तरा प्रणयिनी कान्ते त्वमेवासि मे^१ ।

.....

..... ॥ ९९ ॥

आताम्रः समुदेति देशय चलच्चक्षुश्चकोरद्वयं

मन्दं मन्दमुपैति वेल्लय वलद्वेणीभुजङ्गीमिमाम् ।

कूजत्युन्मठ एष मिश्रय मुखे वाणीसुधामित्यसौ

सख्योः कापि विदग्धमुग्धमधुरा गोष्ठी समुज्जृम्भते ॥ १०० ॥

पश्यन्ती तमहर्निशं प्रतिदिशं नानाविनोदोन्वितं

विश्लेषे दृढभावनापरिचयात् सुतापि जाग्रत्पि ।

तत्कालेऽस्तिकमागतं प्रियतमं संभाषमाणं मुहु-

स्तेभ्यः सत्यममुं विवेक्तुमभवन्नालं बिलोलेक्षणा ॥ १०१ ॥

नेदं नीरदमण्डलं न च वनासारा इमे साम्प्रतं

किन्तु त्वद्विरहानलोभितहृदस्तन्व्याः प्रिय प्रायशः ।

निर्यन्निश्चसिताख्यधूमपटलं व्याप्नोत्यरन्ध्रं नभः

स्वस्थानाच्च पतन्ति तद्यतिकराभेत्राम्बुधाराकराः ॥ १०२ ॥

^१ Ms. संजानीते. ^२ Ms. यदा. ^३ lines 3 and 4 are missing in the Ms. ^४ Ms. विनोदान्वितं.

अहं सा सैवाहं तदिदमिति लोकव्यवहृति

न जाने प्रेमाणं पुरमिह ततो नापि विरहम् ।

रहस्यं नोऽजानान्निखिलमिदमानङ्गनिगमं

मुधैवार्धैरङ्गैः समसृजत देव्याः पशुपतिः ॥ १०३ ॥

गुम्फो वाचां मसृणमधुरो मालतीनामिवस्या-

दर्थो वाच्यः प्रसरणपरः सम्मितः सौरभस्य ।

मायव्यङ्ग्यो रस इव रसस्तद्वद्वाह्यदेहेतु-

मल्लेवासौ सुकविरचना कस्य भूषां न धत्ते ॥ १०४ ॥

इति श्रीमहाकविपण्डितश्रीमद्रायभट्टकृतं शृङ्गारकण्ठोलं नाम काव्यं
संपूर्णम् ।

¹ Ms. तदिदमिति.

² Ms. रसस्तद्वद्वाह्यदेहेतु⁰.

INDEX OF STANZAS IN THE गृह्यसूत्रकल्ले OF रायभट्ट

अक्षैरङ्गसमावृत्ति विदधती	४	कान्ते स्वागतमुत्थिता किमु	२५
अचिच्छद्यत्तुभावायाः	५९	कुसुमाविशिखश्चैतो जन्मा	८१
अद्यास्तु प्रतिरोमकूपमिषुभिः	८८	कृता दूरे पश्यन्ति विनतिवाचः	४४
अनुन्यति गिरीशो ब्राह्मपराः	१	क्षितितलमतितसं कामिनीनां	२९
अन्यस्या मलिनाश्चलस्य	७९	गात्रं ते तुहिन्याग्रलीढं	७
अर्चुदेकं चेतः प्रथममथ नूनं	६८	गुम्फो वाचां मसृणमधुरो	१०४
अयं सहजशीतलः कुसुमं	४९	तमस्तोमः सोमं गिलति	१७
अयि भजसि रतीशं चामनेत्रं	९४	सुरभा. ३५५-१५ 3rd l. diff.	
अर्धोन्मीलितशोणपद्मसदृशा	३७	तमिस्राणां स्तोमाः सपदि	१३
अलिकमभिसरन्त्या नीरदानीकिनीभिः	४१	तल्पसीमनि समीक्ष्य शयानां	१६
अहं सा सैवाहं तद्विदमिति	१०३	तल्पेऽनल्पविवर्तनानि तनुते	३६
आकर्ण्य स्थगितं समाकुलं	५	तस्याः शिवं श्वसिति गात्रमदाक्षी	६०
आताम्रः ससृदेति देशयं	१००	तस्याः संप्रति देहं	८२
आत्मा चेद्भवती कथं नु	९९	तापं प्रापयतां तनोतु तनुतां	८३
आनत्या नयनोत्सवो नियमितो	५१	दूरादीक्षितुमुच्चतं नमयते	३८
आनम्राः प्रथमं कृतागम इव	२	ध्मान्तः केकितनूरुहः क्षणरुचिं	३६
आयाते मयि नेक्षितं न गदितं	३४	न विस्मर्तुं शक्यं तदिह लुकिने	५८
Quoted in पद्यवेणी (no 292)			
as of रायभट्ट.			
आयातो दयितः प्रसाधय तनुं	७२	नाथ त्वदीय विरहे विषमे	८४
आलोक्यैव पुरः प्रियं कुटिलता	५४	नासाकर्णविभूषणं मरकतैः	९६
आहूता तव नामतो भ्रमं	६	नेदं नीरदमण्डलं न च	१०२
इहेव सुगलाञ्छनः कथय	५०	नेपालिकामकुलवञ्जुलं	९२
उत्कण्ठेकमयां तनुं कलयतोः	९	नो शय्या नलिनी इलैर्विरचिता	७३
उदन्नाक्षीः पूर्वं दयितसुपनीतं	९५	पद्मं मुद्रितपदपदं समजनि	१९
उद्धृत्यापि पुरः पदं	३	पश्यन्ती तमहर्निशं प्रतिदिशं	१०१
उषसि रहसि कान्ता स्वान्तिके	७६	पाणिभ्यां परिसृज्य किं नयनयोः	७५
एकत्रैव विलोक्य जातु दयिते	३१	पुरा भरमानङ्गो हरनयनदीपेन	७१
एकत्रैव समीक्ष्य सौधशिखरे	३०	पुरा यान्ती मन्दं नक्षत्रिणी	४८
एकाङ्गि विनिधाय कान्तचरणे	१५	पुरो गुरुणां प्रियवाचिकं मुदा	३३
Quoted in पद्यवेणी (no 311)			
as of रायभट्ट.			
एकेनैव शरेण हन्त हृदयं	८५	प्रकुपितसखीवेषं कृत्वा	९७
एतत्कण्टकितं वपुरतत इतो	८	प्रज्वलति विरहदहने	८०
करं संरुन्धाना कुटिलनयना	२३	प्रणयिनि परिहासं काप्यवाक्षीद्विह	६७
कान्तं स्वद्विरहेण हा कबलिते	३४	प्रथमविहिते मानेऽधीतं	८७

प्रस्थाने शकुनानि सन्तु सततं	२७	विज्ञापयामि रूपणा भवतोऽनवथा	६९
Quoted in the पयवेणी as of		विनमितवदना पुरो गुरूणां	७०
रायभट्टः		विरहसमये ध्यानावेशा०	९८
बद्धाब्देऽल्लुकुटिर्बरे सुनयने	५२	विश्लेषे मदनाभिराम भवतः	६२
विभ्राणा करजाकुमात्रालिरितं	२६	वीक्ष्यादर्शं विहितकचरीसंविधाना	२८
धुवनमदन दूत्यां त्वद्रूपौघे वदन्यां	६५	व्यनमि नयनयुग्मं पक्ष्मपुञ्ज०	२२
मन इव रमणीनां वारुणी०	२१	शून्येऽस्मिन् शयनं भजेति	८९
मन्दस्फन्दितपाणिधीरबलयं	३२	श्लथा भूयो भूयो भवति	१०
मल्लीदामकचेद्दुर्धर्षिणी कृणालाग्रं	७४	सखि क्रोधावेशादहह	११
मायासीरिति नोदितं न भजितं	४६	सङ्केतदेशं समभिव्रजन्त्याः	४२
मा स्पर्शं पदयोर्ममाचर शठाचार०	७७	संबाधो दयितस्य हन्त	५५
सृगमदमपहरसि दृशा	१२	सविनयमनुनीता नागाभि	१३
यदवधि हतमन्तः कामकान्त	६३	सागस्यान्तिकमागते प्रियतमे	८६
रज्येते मनसा सहैव नयने	६४	सुभग तव कथायां भ्रात्र०	६६
रागः कोऽपि तनो जवान्निविशते	४३	स्कन्धे विन्यस्य सख्याः	२४
रोमाकुन्तरोद्गमवति स्तन०	११	सुरभा. २८७-३४	
लावण्ये परिनिष्ठितं वपु०	६१	स्तनाभ्यां क्राष्टिन्यं सुमुखि	५३
लीलादाश्चतपाणिपल्लवयुगेन०	४५	स्फुरत्यधरपल्लवश्चलति	५७
वक्त्रस्य प्रतिबिम्ब एव भवती	७८	हंसालिः कलनादमश्नति	१८
वपुर्बिम्बकं नङ्गयौवनश्रीः	२९	हस्ताग्रेण मुहुः सखी	३५
वाचां गुम्फैरनुनयपरं	१०	हृदयमजहतेवः प्रेयसा	४०

